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to the Scholars and delegates of the 15th
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Massage

The progress made by the Chinmaya International Foundation Shodha Sansthan (CIFSS) over the few years is quite heartening to note. The publications are on the rise and many more challenging works are being taken up too. Also the various workshops, seminars, and research programs offered by the institution is of great service to academic fraternity. My congratulations to the dedicated team of CIFSS. I invoke the Lord's Grace and Pujya Gurudev Swami Chinmayanandaji's Blessings for greater successes. May we, through our activities and work fulfill the vision and mission of our revered Founder.

In Shri Guru Smriti,
Swami Advayananda
President, Chinmaya International Foundation

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सम्पादकीयम्

महताऽनन्देन शोधपत्रिकामिमां तृतीयपुष्पमालां विशेषाङ्करूपेण विद्वद्वरेण्यानां करकमलेषु समर्पयामः विश्वसंस्कृतसम्मेलनपुरःसरं मनसि निधाय। शोधपत्रिकायामस्यां राष्ट्रियान्ताराष्ट्रिय-स्तरेषु ख्यातिप्राप्तानां षड्विंशतिसंख्याकानां विदुषां प्रबन्धाः स्वीकृताः सन्ति, एवञ्च ग्रन्थत्रयस्य समीक्षणं कृतमस्ति। तेषु भाषाविज्ञानमाधारीकृत्य प्रबन्धत्रयं, नूतन - प्रकाशितमातृकामाधारेण प्रबन्धत्रयं, भारतीयसंस्कृतिमनुरुध्य प्रबन्धत्रयं, भारतीयदर्शनशास्त्रे वेदे च प्रबन्धचतुष्टयं साहित्यालङ्कार शास्त्रमालोचने प्रबन्धचतुष्टयं भारतीयदर्शनशास्त्रे प्रबन्धत्रयं, बौद्धशास्त्रमनु-कुर्वत्प्रबन्धत्रयं तथा च संस्कृतस्य समसामयिमकमनुरक्षत्प्रबन्धपञ्चकं चास्मिन् विशेषाङ्के गुम्फिताः सन्ति। समेषां विदुषां प्रबन्धाः तत्तच्छास्त्रानुसारं महद्रुचिकराः ज्ञानवर्धकाश्च। सर्वैः विद्वद्भिः स्वकीय-हीरकखण्डं समर्प्य अस्या विशेषाङ्कपत्रिकायाः स्थानं मूर्धन्यीकृतम्। तेषां विद्वद्वरेण्यानां चरणकमलेषु प्रणामाञ्जलिं निवेदयामि। शोधसंस्थानस्याध्यक्षः श्रीमान् पौलोस् महोदयः, चिन्मयसंस्थानस्याध्यक्षः स्वामी अद्वयानन्दजी, तेभ्यः सविनयं धन्यावादाः विनिवेद्यन्ते। शोधस्संथाने कर्मरताः मम सहकर्मिणश्च नितरां धन्यवादार्हाः। राष्ट्रियसंस्थानस्य कुलसचिवकुलपतयश्च विशेषाः धन्यवादार्हाः स्मरणीयाश्च भवन्ति, येषां साहाय्यं प्रेरणां च विना न किमपि सम्भावयितुं शक्यते स्म। आशास्महे वयं यदियं शोधपत्रिका सर्वान् विदुषः प्रमोदयिष्यति एवञ्चास्माकं शोभां वर्धयिष्यतीति।

तत्र भवतां विदुषामनुचरः
दिलीप कुमार राणा

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1

Tradition and Creativity

U. R. Anantha Murthy

Let us begin with a great line from William Blake: *This is mine, yet not mine.* When you write a great poem, a poem that takes you by surprise, about which you feel so much, the question is whether it has been there all the time, that is, whether the poem was there even before you started writing it. No, it was not there in that form at all. But, Blake says that in the heat of creativity, in an epiphany moment, certain things come to him all on a sudden and take him by surprise, because any creativity is also a kind of avadhāna–total attention, that which is dark and un-spelt may reveal itself. That is why no creative writer is a creative writer all the time. He can be truly creative only at certain moments when something inscrutable, something beyond definition - call it God, or call it luck - suddenly makes it possible for him to give that kind of total attention to the bīja before him. It is only a seed, this bīja, from which everything else blooms forth. If this is what happens in the process of creation, Blake is right when he says, this is mine, yet not mine.

In contrast, through the theory of *impersonality*, T. S. Eliot is basically trying to get into an argument with the romantics. In any argument, you know you tend to overstate your case; this is the fate of all polemics, for polemics is nothing but over statement. Eliot does the same when he says that the writer is only like a catalyst in a chemical experiment, what we call in Kannada *vegavardhakas* - agents which will only quicken the action. So Eliot's theory claims that the poet is there only to quicken the action, to speed it up, to make some kind of reaction possible, without at the same time undergoing any change whatsoever. This seems to me quite wrong,

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for there is reason to believe that the poet is present in his work in a very vital sort of way. Eliot seems to have missed this point, as indeed some post structuralist critics who talk about the death of the author have missed it altogether. Such theories whether they come from Eliot, or some post structuralist, need not be taken seriously. Blake is much more profound when he says something like, *this is mine, yet not mine*. It is both personal and impersonal at the same time. The impersonality comes in where he says, *yet not mine*, for it belongs to a whole tradition. I could not have written this but for pūrvasūribhiḥ what Kālidāsa says - *maṇau vajrasamutkīrṇe sūtrasyevāsti me gatiḥ (Raghu* 1.4). You know the kind of humility which makes me say, *yet not mine.* This is a very existential sort of way in which creativity and tradition co-exist.

It is almost like Van Gogh's shoes. When you look at the painting, you immediately think that they are shoes. But they are not the kind of shoes that you find in the showrooms of Bata or Carona. These shoes make you feel that some peasant has worn them. He must have been working in his own field for a long, long time, and his shoes are worn out. You can see the sweat, the labour, the anxiety, the suffering of the farmer who has worn these shoes in a particular field at a particular time in a particular set of circumstances. Yet they are great shoes, with a universal appeal and significance universally existing, I should say, though not like in an advertisement. You must have seen a lot of pictures of shoes, you know, making you want to buy them. It provokes a desire when you see Van Gogh's painting. A work which is truly creative and truly in tradition has that kind of quality, *this is mine, yet not mine*: It is a general thing belonging to a specific tradition, but it is not just that either. It has a certain lived-in experience. We have something like that in our own theory of sādhāraṇīkaraṇa. A work becomes truly creative when it has what we call a universal quality. But there is certain danger here, if you begin too much emphasis on this quality of universality, it can very well end up as a mere cliché. A lot of creativity, or so-called creativity in India in the traditional way, has tried to achieve sādhāraṇīkaraṇa in an easy manner, through cliches and hence is not at all valuable. It is almost

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like Van Gogh trying to paint those shoes by copying them from some Bata showroom. Yes, they would be shoes then but not a work of art. What I am trying to say is this, if the sādhāraṇīkaraṇa we accept, where it has a universal quality, belongs to a whole tradition and hence is immediately recognizable as general experience which can be shared by all, it is still not a work of art if it has not that lived-in quality of a particular individual.

It is easy to understand how this facile and cliched accessibility to the universal has contributed to the decadence of Sanskrit poetry in its later years. You should let in the universal only on your own conditions; you should enter the monumental only on your own terms. It should look monumental, but it should also be the experience of a particular individual like Van Gogh's shoes, again. Sanskrit poetry in its later decadent age becomes cliched precisely because the sādhāraṇīkaraṇa is achieved all too easily and is in total agreement with others. Hence, in a way, it does not do anything to the tradition that it seeks to uphold, does not contribute anything to that tradition. You can do it only by trying to keep it alive. But how is this possible?

It is possible as in Vatsyayanji's beautiful metaphor of a hookah for tradition. Someone says, 'this hookah has been in our family for nearly 300 years.' But the bowl was changed when it became very old and worn out. And then the pipe too was changed when it became too rough and rigid. But we still have the same hookah.

As in my little garden near Mysore where an old man called Rāmayya, a Harijan labourer, used to work. Once he was found removing a big rock. He was a very old man, but he had such dexterity and was so good at using his muscles without really straining himself that he could lift a pretty big piece of rock like nobody else could. And then a little plant was found growing underneath it. Rāmayya would say, 'We Harijans have always lived like that!'

Now, he had with him an old sickle and he said, 'We have been using this sickle from my great grand-father's time.'

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He had changed the iron part. Whenever he doesn't find any job - and that is often because after the harvest he doesn't have much work - what he does is take the sickle out and draw all those pictures. And when they are worn out, he will change the handle and draw them again.

'What about the wooden part, the grip?' And he said, 'Oh, I had to change it too, because I found it quite worn out. And there was a beautiful picture of a little bird here which was also getting worn out.'

This is what tradition is all about. This is how you keep it alive, keep it going. Eliot is right when he says that tradition is not a static thing, and that every writer who writes something truly creative changes the whole order, or hierarchy of the traditional realm. This is indeed a very valuable point in T.S Eliot, but not of course, the point about impersonality. The latter point doesn't deserve acceptance and Blake's view is far more profound and wholesome. But Eliot's contribution to the debate concerning tradition and individual talent is acceptable so far as it suggests that tradition is continuously being changed by anything new and original which is added to it.

Having made these observations, we take an example from a Kannada poem which talks about tradition and the individual in a very meaningful manner. The poem is bhūta by Gopal Krishna Adiga. Adiga uses the word bhūta in several senses: bhūta as ghost, bhūta as that living little point, bhūta also as the living bīja. And the whole point of the poem is captured in the line, *Purohitara nambi paścima buddhi adhevo*

That is, Purohitara nambi, by believing in priests, we have became paścima buddhi. This refers to, viprāḥ paścimabuddhayaḥ in Sanskrit. It means you are always backward-looking. Also - paścāttāpabuddhi - always regretting whatever you did the day before. So that is one of the qualities of vipra - always regretting whatever you have done. But Adiga uses it in a different sense; by putting all out faith in the priests we have got westernized because we did not take the whole responsibility of our tradition on ourselves; instead we gave it away. And you know how subsequently the westerners

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tried to reconstruct our tradition for us to repaint it and present it to us so that we could look at it through their eyes. This is what has happened to us, this is what happened to our tradition and this is what happened to our whole perception of tradition. And Adiga's poem is a brilliant comment on this state of affairs; it is also a comment on the caste system and all its terrible implications.

Adiga has another interesting line here where he uses the metaphor of illness - of syphilis, to be precise - to drive this point home. In our language syphilis is called pharaṅgi roga - foreign disease you know. Adiga says that we have got into this pharaṅgi roga through a process of indiscriminate sexual relationships. Thus, through such a relationship with the west, India has lost its own moorings and become totally dependent on the west, and this has resulted also, in the pharaṅgi roga. And then comes the line, *Ulisu purvarjitada rativivekada shikheya*.

I am using these lines because even when a Kannadiga talks to a Malayalee, the only common things that you can refer to is not even Kālidāsa but Kamba. Something has certainly gone wrong without the sense of tradition. There was a time when we could use Tagore, Bankim and certainly Sarat Chandra. But now you just cannot use anyone of these writers as a common point of reference. This is what is wrong with our sense of tradition. *Ulisu purvarjitada rativivekada shikheya* - even rativiveka will not come to you by yourself. Somewhere and somehow, the whole example of the past works through your rativiveka, shikheya means a burning flame. It has to be kept alive, or else it becomes just a part of ritual. Now in this poem which comments on tradition and creativity, there is a passage that begins with a reference to digging. When you start digging the first thing that you get is not gold but crude earth with slight signs of gold. Dig further and you get the real material. But it is not gold yet. You have to get it purified, do some śuddhīkaraṇa in order to extract gold from it. Now, even after getting the gold - and this is what is interesting about the poem:

Honna kayisi hididu badidu istadevata, vigrahakkoggisuva asalu kasabu

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We also have the concept of the iṣṭadevatā, like Viṣṇu, Śiva and so on. Every individual will have his own iṣṭadevatā, the particular deity. So it is not enough that you have the gold. Gold, here is tradition. But you have to get it shaped into an iṣṭadevatā. Then it will become your particular god. And the poem goes on to say that after the gold has been made into an iṣṭadevatā, you have to plough the land, grow rice and wheat, and there has to be a kind of swayamvara between heaven and earth, and then it becomes *gudigopurakalu bangara shikhara*, the golden pinnacle of temples which symbolizes the community. So there has to be the individual iṣṭadevatā as well as the community on top of the temple. Look at the trajectory here, from the individual to the community, from the gold to the iṣṭadevatā. It is this trajectory which defines tradition and creativity and the relationship between the two.

This also is a valid concept which we have lost sight of in the process of getting excessively westernized. And through this we have lost the capacity of articulating this concept within the framework of Indian literature that is articulating it better than T. S. Eliot does. Generally speaking, we have a very weak sense of our tradition and hence a very weak sense of our own creativity. We shall have to recover it, recover the full sense of what we have been and what we are. Well, these are some of the ideas about tradition and creativity along with Vatsyayanji's hookah and Rāmayya's sickle and also Adiga's poem, the three conceptual frameworks.

II

In India what we have is not a tradition, but traditions, not a single, unitary tradition but a multiple entity with a whole set of different strands woven into its complex many layered web. For instance, let us see what happens in a language like Kannada. Kannada had a problem on the one hand there was Sanskrit: Kālidāsa, Vyāsa, Vālmīki and so on. You know how rich and magnificent a tradition Sanskrit can boast of. On the other hand, Kannada also had a variety of indigenous traditions, folk songs and dances and so on. Now the question is how does Kannada poet write in the tenth century? He immediately perceives two traditions: deśī - indigenous and mārgī -

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the great Sanskrit tradition. In this regard, Pampa, our first great poet is still relevant to an Indian writer in my language because he formulated forever I would say the principle of which every subsequent Kannada work would be written. He said that there will have to be a combination of the mārgī and the deśī. If there are poets in whom you find more deśī and less mārgī and vice versa, the entire Kannada literary scene can be classified in terms of the combination of mārgī and deśī. This principle also guided our writers in dealing with the two traditions that is in the use of language of various tools and instruments of literary creation, and not merely in terms of content. My point is that it is not merely something which directs you to the way you have to deal with content; it shows you how you can come to grips with the tools, the language that you use as well. There has to be a judicious use of Sanskrit along with indigenous Kannada words. Some of the highest achievements in Kannada poetry have been made possible by such a judicious use of the combination of mārgī and deśī at the level of language. So the two traditions do not always remain in opposition to each other; instead they complement each other. This is another point that I would like to emphasize here, because Indian sociologists are in the habit of considering one tradition as contrary to the other. What I want to say is that our Sanskrit, folk and regional traditions are complementary and not contradictory in character. The other does what one does not do. That is the way it works. The immediate example is that of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. While *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of animals, *Mahābhārata* has none. So the two epics together have everything; and they complement each other. While one is realistic, the other remains idealistic, and so on and so forth. One cannot live without the other; they have to co-exist.

Now, come back to mārgī and deśī, some poets have more mārgī and less deśī in them, and vice versa. Now, another question crops up here is what happens when you try to get out of the tradition of writing? For you know there are two traditions in our languages. One is the tradition of writing where you pick up a palm-leaf and write your poem. The other is oral. Now, in the twelfth century, there was this great movement which I will

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be coming back to again and again, the movement of the Vīraśaivas who rebelled against both Jainism and Brahminism, against the Vaidikas as well as the Jainas, and propounded a new approach to God, to a mystical religion. They were also anti-caste and against all kinds of ritualism. Now, they were not writing when they had their vacanas uttered. *Vacan* means utterance. It is neither śruti nor smṛti. We have, you know, both a śruti tradition, that which is heard, and smṛti. Of these great mystics, because they were also radical mystics, Basava went to the extent of getting a Brahmin girl married to a Harijan youth in the twelfth century, that is eight hundred years ago. Yes, such a marriage did take place. And it continues to inspire even our contemporary writers. Girish Karnad's play is based on this theme, and Sivaprakash has also written a play about it, and these are very modern plays. So this particular religious movement, the radical character of this movement - it has all been given rise to a lot of creative works in this country.

The point is, this is neither śruti nor smṛti, but vacana. *Vacana* is that which is spoken, that which is uttered, and an utterance has immediacy about it. You write to an abstract audience, and then somebody reads it. But when you utter something the audience is immediate, they are there. In the case of the Vīraśaivas, the audience probably consisted of Sanskrit - knowing Brahmins as well as totally folk tradition-oriented Śūdras. And here the very quality of the literary utterance undergoes a radical change. In the twelfth century, if a poet sits down to write a poem, he writes in what I call as still-type traditional language. It is hard for me to understand even today. I would require a dictionary to make sense of the language. But in the same age, when the vacana came, they used a very different kind of language. You cannot say this of English literature. English as it was used eight hundred years ago was old English. Modern English is quite different. No literary critic has found an answer to the question of how it is that eight hundred years ago when the vacana was uttered, its language happened to be something which is immediately available to me even today. The rhythm is different, the metre is different, the language is different, the

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imagery is different so different that if I take a vacana translation and teach it in an American University, which I have in fact done, people would think that the translator must have done some trick on the vacan in order to make it look like a modern poem. But no, it is not a question of translation at all. Then, how can we explain this strange phenomenon?

Of the different traditions that I have spoken of, Basava followed a particular tradition that was rooted in the oral. And while speaking through this tradition and composing his vacana in it, Basava had access to a lot of words and ideas and concepts which you find in the Vedas and Upaniṣads, and these two entered his discourse in a remarkably effortless manner. You are here reminded of Rāmayya's sickle which is being continuously used and modified for ages together, which remains modern at every point of time but is still strongly rooted in tradition, which remains a tool of expression, of creativity, that is never blunted by the passage of time. Basava's sayings are addressed to the Jaina rulers as well as to the Brahmins - he was himself a Brahmin converted to the Vīraśaiva. And what he says is that if you want to get to God, you have to develop a certain relationship with him based on a sense of immediacy, a relationship that is direct and spontaneous; but all rituals come in the way of such a realization of God.

It is clear that Basava is attacking the Brahmins, their ritualistic habits, and so on. Now the ruler at that time was a Jain called Bichala. As you know, Jainism has no God, and as a theory, as a philosophy, it is freer than the vaidika religion so far as the approach to truth is concerned. Jainism is a radical religion, but Basava, who is a non-sense philosopher, is here attacking the vaidika practices and paradoxically destroying Jainism. For this attacks on ritual practices ultimately contribute toward the revitalization of the vaidika tradition by focusing upon the most significant and essential, ideas and principles of the Upaniṣads, and so on.

Isn't this what Sree Narayana Guru did? Probably yes. This is a kind of game in which tradition produces its opponents from within and then purifies itself, revitalizes itself. So this is what Ramakrishna did, what

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Vivekananda and Narayana Guru did; and this is what Basava also did. Otherwise he should have been closer to Jainism. But somehow Jainism was treated as a kind of peripheral thing. Now this is one of the issues which we should seriously debate. Has the Upaniṣadic, Vedic tradition remained at the centre of all our diverse traditions? If so why? And what are its implications? This is again something about which we should have an honest debate–the question whether any philosophical quarrel here has resulted in anything except the revitalization not revival of the central vaidika tradition. The centrality of this tradition and the resultant marginality of other traditions such as that of Jainism raise important questions concerning our philosophical and literary heritage-questions that deserve closer attention from all possible angles.

Let us now come back to mārgī and deśī again. There is a lot of deśī in the vacana because it is rooted in the oral tradition and because it has an immediate audience. And since it is not produced in the written tradition, it remains beyond the creative framework of the Sanskritic tradition. If I write that you my readers are steeped in the Kālidāsa tradition, for instance, my work is likely to carry within it some of the qualities of a Kālidāsa. This is what happens to Pampa. So in spite of the combination of mārgī and deśī, you find the strong presence of the mārgī tradition in him. However, when you utter the vacana to an audience that is immediate, where there is no framework of expectations of any particular tradition, then what you get is not that kind of mārgi or deśī but something very different, something which is meaningful to me even today. Let us see for example, how certain words are used. There is a great woman poet called Akka who, like Pampa and others, uses Sanskrit works within the framework of the Kannada language.

taraniya hulu tanna
snehadalli maneya madi,
sutti sutti tanna
sava kombanthe.

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Here the only Sanskrit word is 'sneha'. The rest are Kannada words. And hence you can see a slightly different color here. So you see the word sneha and take a closer look at it. What Akka is trying to tell you is that sneha, like a spider, creates its web from its own intestines and then gets suffocated in our samsāra is the image she is trying to create. Sneha here means friendship; it also means snigdha, you know, that quality of the web which is gluey. And she is trying to say that all sneha is like this. So there is a total enrichment of meaning here. In other words, the word sneha here, which might have derived from, say an Upaniṣadic thought lends this line a peculiar quality something that is akin to Van Gogh's shoes. You suddenly think that it has been won by someone. So the use of the word sneha, which is a Sanskrit word, which should also have given it a very particular kind of feeling of something gluey and something very desirable also. This is the advantage of the mixing of the two, Sanskrit and Kannada.

Let us now come down to our own times. Suddenly, English also has become mārgī to us. And the entire Kannada tradition has become deśī. Even Kālidāsa can become deśī if the west is seen as the predominant tradition. And I cannot ignore it just because I have become very patriotic. It has entered into my consciousness, so there is no question of keeping it out. But you have to bring the mārgī and deśī together. And I would say that all our good Kannada writers are those who have been able to digest the western influence, like the fourteenth century poet in Kannada who said, *Samskritadalli inneru* — what else is there in Sanskrit?

So that has been the most significant challenge to creativity in modern times. The whole mārgī-deśī combination today, the tension between the two, is between the entire regional tradition and what you receive from the west. I would even extend it to our political realm. In Karnataka all our poets have sung lines such as,

> *Karnataka bharatiya jananiya tanujate*
> *jai he karnatakamate.*

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That is, jai he Oh! Karnataka mother who is the tanujāta of Bhāratajanani. We have always had that kind of desire to be with in India but at the same time to retain our individuality. This is what I mean by the mārgī-deśī dynamics.

The Indian genius should keep the two together, not in opposition but as complementary to each other; and whenever there is a binary opposition somewhere there is tactical blending of the two. It happens in creativity, politics, social life, religious movements and all other walks of life.

III

Another concept related to tradition is of sthāvara and jaṅgama which also has religious, spiritual, social and political implications. These words are in Malayalam too. The English words stability, stay and stasis also derive from the same root as that of sthāvara, jaṅgama has the same root as go. Here we remember of a great vacana by Basava who was a Brahmin who rebelled against the ritualism of the vaidika tradition, became a Vīraśaiva, a militant Śaiva, and was one of the founders of the Vīraśaiva movement. He was also a minister in the court of the Jain King Bijjala. Now, when you read Basava's vacans you are somehow reminded of Orwell. George Orwell, you know, is one great example of a bourgeois person trying to declass himself. He even lived like a beggar down and out in Paris and London where he wanted to lose his middle classness and became a common man. But he did not succeed. That was the tragedy of Orwell. He remained a typical middle class Englishman till the end of his life. But one of the beautiful things about Orwell is this very attempt at declassing himself. If I can use the word de-caste in the same way as de-class, I would say that this is what Basava tried to do. There is even a vacana which says, consider me as the offspring of an untouchable man who had an illegitimate union with another woman in the paddy field; I am that offspring.

So he had to go that far to lose his caste pride, because he thought that it stood in the way of his relationship with Lord Śiva. To me the greatest poet in Kannada, in some ways, is Basava. He was very friendly with the

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King, and he had innumerable followers who were called jaṅgamas. These followers used to criticize him, saying, 'he is the minister to the king, he is the King's khajānji, the whole treasury is with him, but he doesn't help us, he doesn't give us any money.' And so on. And the King's men suspected him and they used to tell the King. Look, he is your finance Minister, he is your friend, yet he is using all the money to feed his followers."

Thus Basava was attacked from both sides. And there are a number of vacanas where you find him trying to resolve this dilemma. That way he is a very modern figure in Indian literature. The dilemma, the agony the angst- you find it all in his vacanas which are very confessional in character. For anyone interested in the study of creativity and tradition, Basava provides a very good example. And he deserves to be known all over India as one of the greatest Indian poets ever, and not merely as a Kannada poet.

There is a particular vacanas by Basava:

> The rich will make temples for Śiva, What shall I, a poor man, do?
> My legs are pillars, the body the shrine, the head of gold
> Listen, O Lord of the Meeting Rivers
> Things standing shall fall, But the moving ever shall stay

Things standing - sthāvara, and moving - jaṅgama. This is Rāmānujan's translation. He translates *koodala sangama* as the Meeting Rivers. This again is a recurring metaphor in Basava - the meeting of the two rivers. It is his signature, He has the *koodala sangama* in every vacana. So what is it so great about this poem?

You know, for instance, the kind of situation obtaining in the tenth century when a large number of temples were built in Tamil Nadu and other such places by the Alwars. For the Alwars, building a temple was itself a great creative act, for most probably every community participated in the process. From the Brahmins to the lowest of the low, it was an activity of the whole community, and it did represent the aspirations of the whole community. But unfortunately, within the next two centuries, the temple as an institution

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had degenerated. It became an establishment which protected the interests of the rich and the powerful. Thus by the time you come to the twelfth century, you find Basava lamenting the fact that the temples have become a hindrance to God, a stumbling block in your way to God. And he has to demolish the temples to reach God. This is not a sociological rebellion, though that is how our sociologists would like to see it. It is, on the other hand, a spiritual response, a spiritual act. Whenever you find that your union with God is not possible because of certain hindrances-hindrances caused by temples or other factors such as caste and birth you have to find ways and means of overcoming these hindrances and obstacles. Now, how are these temples built? They are built on the analogy of the human body. If you know something about temple architecture, you will use words such as śikhā, the head, garbhagṛha, the womb, and so on. And the pillars are the hands and feet; so, from the human body to the temple. What Basava wants to do is to deconstruct this.

What is deconstruction? This is precisely the same sense in which Jacques Derrida, for instance, would use it. Here, the temple is constructed in the analogy of the human body. Basava's project is to deconstruct the temple and thus make the body itself the temple; first, the body to the temple and now the body as the temple. How does he do that? 'The rich will make temples for Śiva, what shall I a poor man do? My legs are pillars... He is making a temple of the body, the body the shrine, the head of gold and so on'. Listen, O Lord of the Meeting Rivers... Now, there is a great paradoxical statement here. He reverses the sthāvarajaṅgama binary. Things standing shall fall, the moving ever shall stay. Our notion that the temple is permanent and our body is impermanent thus stands problematic. The body is permanent because Śiva lives there whereas the sthāvara shall fall. There is a pure Kannada word for the rich and Basava uses it here: *Ullavaru sivalayamaduvaru. Nanena maduvenayya.*

The question here is about the difference between having and being. The rich have, I am. It is a kind of existential statement. So I am the temple.

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There is no strange word here, this would be the language spoken today in Mysore. In English there has to be a 'to be' verb: 'my legs are pillars'. But in Kannada you don't have to use the verb: *Enna kale kamaba*. This may be possible in Malayalam too, *Kale kamba, deivei devula, Shivam onna kadachu paye* - There is that kind of immediacy. For Rāmānujan it is difficult. So he says, 'my legs are pillars;' and afterwards having introduced the verb 'to be' he can say 'the body the shrine', and so on. Anyhow, in Kannada, it is immediate. And then:

Sthāvarakkalivuntu jaṅgamakkalivilla - Sthāvara has alivu, destruction, but jaṅgama knows no destruction. Now, this is a central kind of poem for the whole thinking about what is stable and alive in tradition throughout the vacanakāras.

In every spiritual movement in India you find a guru who has no interest in action at all, who is pure being and pure thought and pure dhyāna; and one such guru is Allama, one of the greatest of vacanakārs. And then you have an active principle, someone like Basava. It may be Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda, or Narayana Guru and Dr. Palpu. You always have an instrument through which you perform a social function, and you have a guru who is not interested in this social manifestation, an *avadhoot*. Allama is an avadhoot. Now, he has had several interesting encounters. One such encounter is with a woman called *Muktayakka*. She was a very devoted sister of a saint who had taken the oath of silence. Why did he take the oath of silence? That is again interesting. Once he was wandering in the forest looking for firewood. He saw a snake, and it was trying to hide its jewel. And then he thought: 'Anything worthy should be hidden, you should not reveal it'. So he said, 'I will not reveal my great devotion to Lord Śiva!' So he took the oath of silence. The story is that one day while he was carrying a head-load of rice his head hit the threshold and then he said Śiva!' and died. And the sister is in mourning when Allama comes along and tells her the usual thing: 'O sister, your brother was a spiritual being. His ātman is eternal, only the body is naśvara, and it's gone. Why should you grieve over it?'

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And then she, the first great intellectual woman poet in Kannada asks him, 'my brother who had taken the oath of silence could not but utter one word and revealing his greatest devotion he died. Now you are a vācali. This kind of things can be said by anyone – that the body is naśvara ātman is *śāsvata*, and so on. It is not necessary for you to have any kind of realization to speak like that.'

Here for the first time in Kannada, a great literary critical problem is raised. The question whether the thing exists only because you have expressed it. If there are two pictures of shoes, only Van Gogh's is the real one, and not the Bata stuff. The real shoes are those worn by a peasant, like the real tradition in the hands of, say, Rāmānujan. So she is in fact asking the same question: how do I know that you are speaking about what you have realized?

And then for the first time again in Kannada a word is used which is very important, so suddenly striking as we read Lionel Trilling's 'Sincerity and Authenticity.' Trilling says that the whole problem of authenticity arises in the west during the renaissance. He makes a distinction between sincerity and authenticity. A person may be sincere but not authentic. Sincerity raises the question whether that state itself is a true state for you can also cheat yourself. Being authentic is very different from being sincere. So, in a sense, Muktiyamma is really raising the problem of sincerity and authenticity in our tradition, because our tradition in a way trends not to care for authenticity. Of course you can have your japa, your prārthanā, your pūjā, without really putting all your heart and soul in God; still you go through these rituals, go through the whole mechanics - but it is not authentic. Now we also have authentic people in our mythology. Like the boy who was asked to give prasādam to God and who believed that God should actually come and eat the prasādam. He believed in it literally, not metaphorically. That kind of authenticity was also something which our tradition was in search of. And I would like to say that within our Indian tradition, I would choose only the line that cares for authenticity. It is such authenticity which produces people like Rāma, Gandhiji, Ramakrishna and

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so on, while what is inauthentic is evident in several great scholars and pūjās and temples and ratha-yātrās.

Muktiyamma, therefore, is raising this question of authenticity. And Allama does not know how to answer her. All that he says, in a whole series of vacanas, is this: 'there is no Śabdasūtaka in what I say. Mark this word: Śabdasūtaka. Sūtaka means pollution. You have sūtaka, for instance, when somebody dies, because you are impure. I think it is a Sanskrit word, and I do not know if you have the same word in Malayalam. What this means is that ultimately language can pollute thought. And if you don't want it to pollute or falsify thought, if you want it to speak so that you in fact create poetry in order to help everyday language gain authenticity. Śabdasūtaka is the ordinary state of language, and when it looses sūtaka it becomes real śabda, that is mantra. And mantra is authentic. Now, after the incident the encounter with Muktiyamma, Allama begins to speak in metaphors. He speaks like a stutterer, one who struggles for words. So the metaphorical language is an attempt to overcome śabda which is the world of sthāvara has to become jaṅgama again.

Let us now consider another saint-poet called Chattivaleya. By the way, of the roughly four hundred vacanakāras of the twelfth century about whom a certain degree of knowledge has been made possible through research, a majority belonged to the lowest of löw castes, Harijans, who could not even read and write but who were part of the bhakti movement in Karnataka. And Chattivaleya was one of them. He was a rebel, a rebel among the vacanakāras. And his signature lines are very interesting. I have already spoken of Basava's signature line: 'O Lord of the Meeting Rivers". In Allamma it is Bhuvaneśwara, Lord of the Caves. The signature line of a very lyrical poet like *Akka* is *Channamallikarjura*. And the low-caste rebel poet *Chattivaleya* has the line:

Illa, Illa. One day he accosts Basava and says; 'Look you have stood for the jaṅgama, you have stood for the living God, but you have also become a maḍha, you have become an establishment; and all the jaṅgamas who come

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and take their food here every day do so because they don't want to work, because they have become lazy fellows, and they are in fact exploiting others.'

Then Chattivaleya places a huge stone on Basava's door step. 'And Basava has no immediate answer. For Basava has always been attacked by both groups. Then Allama comes up to him and says: Samaya is imparted. For Allama also was a revolutionary and for him there was no establishment, no power, nothing. So he says, Samaya has been used by the jains also. It means congregation. Where will you be if there is no congregation? That is the question Allama is raising. There is the need for an establishment for the individual rebel to exist. So you have no right to question the whole thing. This is what the total rebel in Allama says to Chattivaleya when he encounters in the latter the kind of rebellion we have been advocating. In other words, what the vacanakāras are trying to do is to bring a quality of the jaṅgama to the sthāvara and to see that there is some quality of the stāhavara in the jaṅgama. If there is no quality of the sthāvara in the jaṅgama, one would become a Chattivaleya. And if there is no quality of the jaṅgama in the sthāvara, the sthāvara would be dead. Hence is the attempt to give the vitality of the jaṅgama to the establishment of sthāvara and to give the stasis of the sthāvara to the vital jaṅgama. So, that becomes the search which again is a very beautiful metaphor for tradition and creativity. Tradition will always have some quality of the sthāvara which has to be vitalized through the jaṅgama, and the jaṅgama can always participate in a tradition if it has imbibed some of the qualities of the sthāvara. There is a kind of dialectics involved here, with the two categories interacting with each other and thus producing something entirely fresh and original, but original in the sense of authentic, which can come about only if it is deeply rooted in a tradition revitalized and kept alive.

There is another story which is also the theme of a celebrated poem written by a young poet called Basuraj. During the period we are talking about, a number of saint-poets, after rejecting the temple as an institution turn to

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the worship of the liṅgam. And Basava was one of them. One day Allama appears before Basava's house and calls him out. And Basava says, wait, for he does not know who Allama is. 'Wait I have to finish my pūjā'. Thus even Basava, who is against sthāvarakali, is seen keeping a cetain kind of sthāvara at home. That sthāvara becomes the liṅgam next to his body. Now, Allama moves over to the backyard of the house and finds another saint there whom Basava has never recognized and whose vrata is to eat the leftovers thrown out from Basava's home. Allama worships him. And Basava is astonished. 'Here he comes to my house and worships some peon of mine who is cleaning the dirt here.' Allama tells him: 'You are a rebel against sthāvara. But you are likely to become a sthāvara yourself. Your rebel is at your back, eating the leftovers of your house'.

In other words, the kind of creativity which makes such thinking possible is not to be found even in Basava instead one comes across it in his backyard where somebody else is packing up the leftovers.

The whole concept of sthāvara and jaṅgama, if you examine it this way, becomes a living concept within the Kannada tradition, making way for, I would say, a modern writer like me and my dealings with things such as communism, marxism, rebellion, ratha yātrā, and so on. I can deal with all of them with the help of these concepts. That is, I can be creative within my tradition and with this kind of creativity I can comment on what is happening around me in a meaningful manner.

The answer was there within the tradition. Our tradition was always a living tradition, very dynamic and forward looking. It is because we have today lost sight of the richness of our tradition that we tend to take only the dead part.

This morning, on my way to Tripunithura, I suddenly began to wonder at the great medieval Indians who succeeded in decentralizing our consciousness. For instance, Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa was so decentralized that Ezhuthachan here created his own Rāmāyaṇa, while Kamban and

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Tulasidas had their specified versions. In Kannada alone there are about a hundred *Rāmayaṇas*. In one of these versions, during the argument over whether Sītā should accompany Rāma to the forest, Sītā finally clinches the issue when she says:

> 'In every *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā is shown to proceed to the forest with Rāma, then how can I stay here?

This is what is so great about *Rāmāyaṇa*, that it has been decentralized to this extent. The *Ayodhyā Rāmāyaṇa*, on the other hand, is a centralized *Rāmayaṇa*, and I should say that it goes against the Indian spirit, the Indian cultural ethos. The great Indian tradition is to decentralize. Do you know, by the way that the flower Sītā wears grows only in my village? We call it *sitaladande*. What I am doing now is putting my tradition into a creative way. Gandhiji succeeded in effecting such an entry. That is why Gandhiji's kind of politics is never backward - looking, for our tradition, in its best aspects, has never been backward - looking.

So, Rāmayya's sickle, along with the temple, the Vedas and so on kept together, are what we inherit. But if Rāmayya's sickle is kept in a museum, it is no longer part of my tradition. It can remain part of my living tradition only if continues to get used, only if it continues to make sense to a living person and be used in a truly meaningful way. It has to be part of our usable past, like Rāmayya's sickle.

IV

One of the great things about our regional literature is the way in which the brahminical tradition is acquired by the entire non-brahmin populace, that is, how it is acquired, revised, reworked, made into purāṇas, put into all kinds of theatre, and so on. Here is an example. There is a fourteenth-century shepherd-caste poet called Kanaka Das. And there is a story about him. Kanaka Das was a disciple of Vadirajam a Brahmin saint in Udupi one of the Swamijis of the Udupi Mutt. The Brahmin boys at the Mutt had always been angry with the Swamiji for having allowed a Kuruva shepherd to be one of his disciples. So one day the Swami wanted to prove what he meant. He

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gave a plantain fruit to each of his disciples and told them that they should go and eat it where nobody would see them. After a while the disciples came, back, and one of them said, I hid myself behind a wall and ate it. Another said, I went into the river and ate it, and so on and so forth. Kanaka however, brought the plantain back and said, 'my guru, God is everywhere. How can I eat it without being seen by anyone? God would see me.'

And the Swamiji tells the others, 'God is real to him and not to you.' This is the kind of story which Dostoevsky could have narrated, for he was also in search of a kind of spiritual reality like this. In one of his novels, for instance, a man who is a believer in God is asked this question: 'Do you really believe in God?' The man is frightened to answer yes, because, if he were to say 'I do believe in God,' it has to bring about a total change in his existence. For people like Ramakrishna, you know, belief in God is like falling in love. The greatest passion in our tradition has always been expended on two things: God and woman. You can undergo a total change of being when you are in love or when you fall in love with God. And the caste distinctions are forgotten in these two avasthās. When you fall in love with God, there is no caste, no class, nothing. The same is true when you fall in love with a woman. This is the kind of passion that goes into the making of literature too, and Kanaka Das is a very good example of a poet who puts so much passion into his works. Now, Kanaka has a mock heroic poem, on an interesting quarrel between rice and ragi.

Rice said: 'Look, I can become a mantrākṣara. When a wedding takes place, do they use you? No. They use me. I am a mantrākṣara. I am superior. I am a Brahmin. You are dark and ugly. Only the poor need you for their food.' Ragi is furious at this insult. And they quarrel. Soon they appear before Shri Ramachandra who says: 'yes. I will find a solution; but first I will put both of you in jail for six months'.

After six months, when they come out of the jail, rice is found to have turned bad because, you know, it cannot be preserved for long, whereas ragi is still quite healthy. Now Rāma says - 'Look, who is superior now?

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And Shri Ramachandra, according to Kanaka, is called Raghava because he gave this boon to ragi. This is a fourteenth-century poem in Kannada that finds place in tradition.

Ragi, according to the fourteenth-century poet, gives Shri Ramachandra the name of Raghava. But the way we put Rāma to use today is totally different. We are so alienated from our own traditions, we are so westernized or Europeanised, that we cannot use the ideas, concepts that obtain within ourselves. Even the radical left in Indian politics has no vital connection with India. Who, for instance, will fully understand the words and concepts we have borrowed from the West? The class, for example will never be properly understood by the people. They understand the word caste. It is the word 'jāti' that the people of India understand. They don't understand the word 'varga'. This is precisely what our great poets have been doing because they fully understand how concepts work and how ideas are communicated among the masses, and they succeed in their mission because they work within their own traditions, reworking them and creating a new.

May I conclude with an observation on a line from Purandara who lived during Krishnadeva Raya's time. They were supposed to have *Uttamaprabhutva*-Krishnadeva Raya's prabhutva. All the great Telugu and Kannada poets, you know, were court poets in Krishnadeva Raya's time, uttamaprabhutva. But here is a poet of the times, Purandara, who says, Uttamaprabhutva *lolalotte*. See how remarkable this phrase is! uttamaprabhutva is of course Sanskrit, but *lolalotte* is a childish, nonsense word. By putting the two together Purandara might be saying this: even if the prabhutva is uttama, it is lolalotte (nonsense) because God is greater than this, or, to think that any prabhutva can become uttama is itself lolalotte. So here is another rebel, another revolutionary poet, who dares to utter uttamaprabhutva lolalotte during Krishnadeva Raya's time.

If Russian writers had a poet like Purandara, they would not have got into trouble. To think, for instance, that Stalin's prabhutva can ever

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become uttama is sheer lolalotte. What they needed was a Purandara in their literature, and it did go home to quite a few Russian literature. It was made possible, this communication, because the whole European tradition has always held that a particular social or political organization can in fact aspire to. We too have such a concept in Rām Rājya. But we tend to disregard the fact that it is essentially a critical concept, something which enables us to criticize, or critique, whatever Rājya we have. Not that Rajya will ultimately become a Rām Rājya, but it is a model against which existing Rājyas can be measured, assessed, evaluated and even criticized. This is what Purandara is saying.

The point here is that Purandara is important not only for what he says but for his daring use of language as well, for the way in which he brings about a radical change in the tone and texture of language by juxtaposing a nonsense word like lolalotte with the traditional language of Sanskrit. This takes us back to the whole argument revolving round the notions of mārgī and deśī, and sthāvara and jaṅgama, etc., and as a conclusive remark it can be pointed out as to how one can identify forms that are indicative of the sheer diversity obtaining within our multi-faceted traditions.

The first kind of language is used by the native people and the community oriented writers who emerge from them while the second kind is evident in the works of our very dynamic and energetic poets who really wanted to make things happen against the grain of W. H. Auden's famous, statement that poet makes nothing happen. And the third kind of language, and the third kind of poetry, derives from our spiritual tradition which still keeps alive the notion of language that is still relevant and useful. So this in brief, is a kind of structure that which creativity can find its wings on.

To me tradition does not mean something of the past. Even today's writer is a part of tradition. Tradition is a kind of continuity of memory which makes you human, which makes it possible for you to interact within a certain context thereby add something significant to that context. It has to

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be a living tradition. For, let us not forget the fact that whatever tradition we could have had was lost to us through a certain amnesia because of a terrible attraction to the modern world–system. And the modern world system has become such a great danger to the world that there is some hope that what I have been vaguely search for will ultimately become a reality.

(This is the abridged version of the Parikshit Memorial Lecture that the author delivered in two days at the Sanskrit College, Tripunithura, Kerala)

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2

History of Phonemic Symbolism in Ṣanskrit

Narayan R. Joshi

The current renewed interest in India's ancient language Sanskrit within India as well as in foreign countries is very pleasing. Sanskrit is loved and at the same time people complain about her complexities. Indians look at Sanskrit as divine language while foreign scholars treat her as one of the languages of the Indo-European language family. Vaidika Sanskrit is the language of Indian Vedas. To the best of my knowledge no literature prior to Vedas were discovered in the world. Naturally there are many theories of the origin of Vaidika Sanskrit and even of the origin of human languages. Somebody said that Sanskrit is like a living organism. Somebody finds new facet of her existence from time to time over the period of the known history of 2500 years of India. One such effort is undertaken in this research. Many languages of the world are conventional. Scholars also think Sanskrit is a conventional language. Some Ācāryas thought differently in ancient India. Efforts are made in this paper to throw light on the possibility of controversial subject of Phonemic Symbolism in Sanskrit. Such arrangement is denied for all languages including Sanskrit by modern day linguists.

Introduction

Vedas are the earliest compositions in history of the whole world. One can safely say that they were known in India (Indian subcontinent-simply called India from now on) as early as 1375 BC. Their presence in the world is attested by the reference to Vaidika deities (Indra, Varuṇa etc.) in the treaty between Mitanni king and Hittite king in the ancient history of the Hittite kingdom from the land of modern day Turkey. Vedas are preserved in tact by Vaidika Brahmin priests orally sound by sound using

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eight novel techniques of repetition, krama, ghana pāṭha being few of them. The origin of Vaidika Sanskrit is lost in the mist of the ancient history of the world. Vaidika Sanskrit compositions are not easy to decipher today. The language differs from the classical Sanskrit which was formalized by the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini of 6th century BC from the frontier region now part of Pakistan. On the European side, Greek and Latin are close to Sanskrit. After the entry of British rule in the 18th century in India, European scholars discovered Indo-European language family spread from India in the east to British islands in the west. In order to explain existence of such vast linguistically connected ancient civilizations, existence of ancient people called Aryans was proposed and promoted by European scholars. Unfortunately this turned out to be ill conceived chapter in the new semi-science called Anthropology. It brought disaster to Europe through racial connotation it carried without sound historically base. However the mystery is not solved. To this day no scholar from any world university explained why the primitive people called Aryans looking for green pastures to graze their cattle had need of such a highly structured and inflected language called Vaidika Sanskrit. Today we write scientific papers in English setting words next to each other without inflections (English dropped her inflections long ago retaining only few). The question is who devised such structured language and why in 1400 BC or even before? Classical Sanskrit is also highly inflected language but she carries regularity in her structure devised by Pāṇini. Even then there are exceptions. This raises new question. Is there use of such difficult to study language in the 21st century? Is there anything beyond her complicated grammar called Vyākaraṇa?

The Linguistic Principle of the Least Action

There is play between formality and flexibility in any given language. It is observed that higher the formality in a given language, less number of people inclined to use it as it is. When they use it, without knowing they tend to follow the Linguistic Principle of the Least Action.[1] It means people try to make linguistic forms difficult to pronounce easy by changing positions of sounds. Thus, in English simplely becomes simply. In the same

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way in India, Sanskrit word Indra became Indar and Chandra Chandar. According to information theory, information which is certain in the beginning tends to become uncertain with the passage of time. The logic of using highly inflected language with accents is gradually receded in the background over the long period of the known history of 2500 years and unknown history of 1000 years (from Mitanni-Hittite treaty). Then why to bother about this outdated language when English is ruling supreme in the market place of the world?

Sanskrit and Computers

In 1984 in the Artificial Intelligence Magazine, Rick Briggs wrote two articles on the utility of Sanskrit in devising semantic nets. From that time on lovers of Sanskrit got sudden revelations about connection between regularity of Sanskrit and rule following nature of the machine called computer. At present, world conferences are held each year to teach computer rules of Pāṇinian grammar. Although much progress is made in this new field of Natural Language Processing (NLP), researchers have to go long way from the current soft syntax projects to complicated structures of Sanskrit.

Language of Vaidika Mantras

Many lovers of Sanskrit are disillusioned with computer jargon with its unlimited acronyms intervening in description of subtle aspects of Sanskrit language supposed to produce auspicious vibrations with chanting of Vaidika mantras. They think language with her charming poetry of Mahākāvyas like *Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa* does not need validation from a digital (0 and 1) machine called computer with no life of its own. Melodious poetry of many Sanskrit Kavis (poets) raises human feelings to the highest level of devotion and finally even to the god realization. A machine cannot do that. A scientifically inclined modern man may not believe mantra śāstra. According to him, language is a tool of human communications with forty or fifty sounds produced by human vocal chords. Meanings of words of any language are conventional and there is nothing special in them. We can call table, a chair and chair, a table if we

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all agree from tomorrow. No matter how sound this argument looks on the surface, yet it has logical pitfall. How did conventions of meanings arise in the first time in the human linguistic history? There are many partial theories of the origin of human languages. All agree that the origin is lost in the remote past of the human civilization on the earth.

Semantics-Science of Meanings of Words and Sentences

Science of Meaning is one of the topics discussed by modern linguistics along with syntax and context. How does meaning arise for a chosen word? Surprisingly between 1000 BC and 500 BC Sanskrit scholars in India were discussing semantics of Sanskrit words. Why? There were complaints by certain scholars that verses from Vedas make no sense although many of them speaking Sanskrit in everyday life. Such allegations against Vaidika ṛks were disturbing because Vedas were held in very high esteem. This and other reasons set fierce debate in ancient India about the nature of Sanskrit. Is it conventional like any other language or special? It looks to me that there were languages in the ancient India other than Sanskrit. The burden of proof was on the shoulder of those who claim Sanskrit mantras produce desirable effects through rituals like Yajña. Out of this debate two groups stood out. First of Śākaṭāyana who claimed all Sanskrit nominal stems could be traced to roots (dhātus). The second group of Gārgya claimed that every noun cannot be traced to the roots. Now the frantic search started for presenting derivations of Sanskrit words from roots. Many Brāhmaṇa granthas contained etymological explanations here and there. Thus, came into existence the Nirukta-śāstra (etymological derivations) of scholar Yāska around 700 BC. Yāska in summarizing the debate declared that where the meaning is not accompanying and the separation of dhātu and pratyaya is not possible in the normal way, even in those cases the query regarding the dhātu should be persisted with. Grammatical tendencies were also developing gradually through Brāhmaṇa granthas. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* furnishes an example to this effect.[2] Grammarians were observing similarities in forms of Sanskrit verbs and noun declensions. They launched the project of separating affixes from stems by the method of

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anvaya (match), vyatireka (mismatch) and apoddhāra (abstraction). The corpus of Sanskrit research was multiplying in the form of Prātiśākhyas, Phonetics, and Vyākaraṇa. This was becoming a huge burden to memorize for students. Naturally consolidation of grammar was started by many grammarians. It ultimately culminated into very concise sūtra style grammar devised by Pāṇini using many artificial tools like pratyāhāras (acronyms) and anubandhas (tagging letters) around 550 BC. Pāṇini listed names of 10 grammarians prior to his time. Some other authors believe that the beginning of the linguistic activities of India go back even to pre-Vedic times.[3] After Pāṇini new process started which is still going on to this day and it is that of explaining grammar of Sanskrit composed by Pāṇini. So semantics of Sanskrit śabdas took back seat and proficiency of sādhu (correct) forms prescribed by grammar of Pāṇini took the center stage. Grammarians declared semantics is out of their domain and they were only interested in grammatical forms. Thus, attention was focused on the external jewelry of Vāk Devatā (Goddess of Speech) neglecting her internal semantic beauty. In order to offer the supreme status to Vyākaraṇa, it is claimed that deployment of sādhu forms of the language can bestow even svargas (heaven) to the practitioners in the next life.

Etymological Derivations and Etymological Speculations

At this stage it appears that ancient Indian linguistic scholars reached height of their scholarship in the unique grammar devised by Pāṇini. It is praised all over the world as the unique intellectual accomplishment of ancient India. However all was not fine and dandy. The time of 550 BC is almost 1000 years after archeological evidence of mention of the Vaidika deities in the treaty documents of the ancient Hittites and Mitanni. Here we see the truth of axiom of Information Theory. Information which is certain in the beginning tends to become uncertain with passage of time. India was not exception. Soon it was realized that there still existed a considerable number of Sanskrit words that cannot be explained by prakṛti (stems) and pratyaya (affixes) method of Pāṇini. They were then assembled under the special category of uṇādi-sūtras. Grammarians have to invent special

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affixes for them out of nothing. In short instead of etymological derivations, they tried etymological speculations to the best of their ability in case of uṇādi words. At this stage, opened for Sanskrit scholarship - new vista of discovery and/or invention of new pratyayas to explain uṇādi words in improved manner. The two processes of constructing commentaries on Pāṇini-Vyākaraṇa and on uṇādi-sūtras are going on in India for the past two thousand years of the known history.

Are Sanskrit Phonemes without meanings?

In parallel with scholarship of grammarians, phoneticians of ancient India were involved in teaching correct pronunciation of Sanskrit words. They composed various Śikṣāsūtras (Phonetics) in order to delineate minute differences in pronunciations of Vaidika mantras. They were more that 50 phoneticians around 550 BC. Different treatises called Prātiśākhyas were composed for correct pronunciation of Vedas of different branches. One wonders why was this much stress on correct pronunciation of Sanskrit phonemes (varṇas), akṣaras (syllables) and vākyas (sentences)? It may be because they were used in rituals which may bring apūrva (extra-ordinary) effect on the life of the yajamāna (host) performing the ritual with Vaidika priests. It was understood that even change of accent may produce undesirable effect. In this respect the story of Indra and Vṛtra is famous among the circles of Sanskrit scholars.

I started thinking if accent can change outcome of the ritual, then how much change could be precipitated by changing of a phoneme from a Sanskrit word? Is there connection between phonemes in a word and its meaning? Sanskrit grammarians repeatedly tell us that Sanskrit is famous for having multiple meanings to her roots. In that case which out of multiple meanings of a word a priest has in his mind when he recites a mantra in a ritual? These questions were never replied directly. Any connection between a phoneme and its meaning is denied by the modern western linguistics. According to the western scholarship, phonemes of a language have no purpose other than providing speaker with ability to differentiate among various sounds.

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On the other hand, speculations on articulated sounds of Sanskrit śabdas and their meanings continued on and off fashion until now in India.

Speculations on Meanings of Sanskrit Phonemes (Varṇas)

a. View of Tantras: Speculations on individual phoneme meanings appear especially in tantric mantra literature. The names of tāntric deities are extremely important since the ritual of different tantric cults is mainly concerned with their evocation by means of mantras. The sounds of the language exist in a subtle state. Tantras talk about mātṛkās the subtle aspects behind letters of language. Tantras describe letters as bīja (seeds) of physical entities. They connect syllable /laṃ/ to the seed of the earth, the syllable /vaṃ/ to water, the syllable /raṃ/ to fire, and the syllable / yaṃ/ to air.[4] These speculations on few syllables do not help us to decide whether all letter-sounds have fixed meanings or not.

b. View of Indian Phoneticians: According to information given by the author Kapil Kapoor[5] in his book, the phoneticians in the Indian tradition were the intellectual opponents of the Nairukta, the etymologists. They were also opponents of grammarians. The two differ fundamentally in their concern, the phoneticians are concerned with substance of speech, with śabda-tattva, while the grammarians are concerned with the form of speech, śabda-rūpa. Indian philosophers talk about kham-brahman or śabda-brahman which seems to be akṣara of Vedas called Praṇava. Phonetics is the first science in India and phonetic observations and analysis are found in both linguistic and non-linguistic texts. The sound complex is called varṇa. For simplicity in this work, we will call varṇa, a phoneme or a letter-sound. We see here focus on phonetics in ancient India. And if there is no connection between phonemes of a śabda and its meaning, then why so much energy spent on phonetics?

c. Speculations on meanings of varṇas are found in *Akṣamālikā Upaniṣad*. We come across them in the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* of the *Pāñcarātrāgama*[6] as well as in *Viśvāmitra-Saṁhitā*.[7] However there is no consistency in different

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books. It looks to me they try to attach names of different deities to different phonemes randomly.

d. Ācāryas like Upavarṣa, Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa, Prabhākara, Madhva, Rāmānuja, Śaṅkara, Jīvagosāmi and schools of Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā, Vaiṣṇava, Kāśmīra Śaivas and Śaiva-Siddhānta theorists all support varṇavāda. However none of these, to the best of the knowledge of this author, offer keys of decipherment of the atomic meanings of Sanskrit varṇas or phonemes. Perhaps they meant something different by the term varṇavāda from what is understood here. Here varṇavāda means individual letter-sounds have fixed meanings and the meaning of a śabda is the sum of the meanings of constituent varṇas. Books on Yoga describe six cakras with petals carrying individual letters of the Sanskrit alphabet without any explanation that might help in deciphering the atomic phonemic code.[8] One finds efforts on this line in the interpretation of *Śiva-sūtras* offered by Nandikeśvara.[9] However the interpretations are broad and do not help in pinning down the atomic meanings of individual phonemes. The modern day western linguists do not support varṇavāda. According to the traditional Indian scholars akṣaras from Vedas have their own inherent meanings. The meaning of a Vaidika word is the summation of the meanings of the individual akṣaras present in the word. They claim that there are enough clues in Vedas for every individual to arrive at the atomic meanings of akṣaras.

e. My research on phonemic symbolism in Sanskrit was progressing slowly from many years simultaneously with my other professional interests. In earlier stages, I published papers from 2005 to 2008 on my research in Quarterly Journal of Vedic Science. However in 2010, I came across the book of Pandit Raghunandan Sharma.[10] In this book, I found efforts of the author to investigate meanings of Sanskrit letters based on their articulation from vocal tract. His efforts stand out from all other previous studies because he was developing subject by showing gradual change in meaning with gradual change in acoustic properties of articulated sounds. I was exactly doing

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the same independently with my knowledge of acoustics. Unfortunately, Sharmaji passed away long ago. I felt sad I did not get the opportunity to communicate with somebody like him whose line of thinking matched with my thinking. In short this division of thinking among western and the Indian scholars on the old and neglected issue from the Sanskrit linguistics raises an important question. Is it really possible for letters of any or of Sanskrit alphabet for that matter, to have fixed intrinsic atomic meanings related to their sounds? This is called sound-sense concord. Let us see!

The Second Law of Thermodynamics and Varṇavāda (Phonemic Symbolism)

William Ralph Bennett offers interesting discussion on entropy and anthropology in his book.[11] Associating entropy with the degree of statistical disorder, the second law of thermodynamics means that thermodynamic systems tend to proceed from states of lower probability to states of higher probability (or equivalently from higher order to lower order). There are some qualitative reasons why we might also expect languages to obey the second law in some sense. The fact that large numbers of people use them introduces the statistical element. If a language is developed initially by one or a small number of persons at one point on the globe, it seems inevitable that the structure of the language will become less ordered as it diffuses throughout the world. The condensed (and therefore specialized) meanings originally given to symbols by the creator of the language will tend to be broadened and require more additional description through common usage. In other words, it seems likely that there will be a tendency for the minimum average number of bits per message required to convey meaning in normal use of the language to increase with time.

One linguistic tendency is observed where the more concise declensions of single words are replaced by sequences of words. This process generally makes language easier to learn and use but also results in requiring more bits per message on the average. The redundancy of the language tends to go up. One, of course, has to look over really long periods of time to see if

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the effect occurs; otherwise, variations in individual style will tend to mask the phenomenon. Obviously, it is desirable to try to make comparisons between old and recent versions of the same text. Some efforts made in that directions lead to the new phenomenon. Although there is a definite indication that the total number of bits for the same message has increased with time, the result has occurred in a rather surprising way. The total number of characters per message has gone up, but the entropy per character has remained astonishingly constant over periods of at least 2000 years (at least within the languages studied belonging to the Indo-European family). The result suggests the involvement of some fundamental physiological limitation. For example, the nearly constant values for the entropy per character may just reflect the finite number of sound sequences that can be easily produced by the human voice. Such limitations would get into the written language the minute an alphabet based on some kind of phonetic spelling arose from more elementary ideographs. Thus, the condensed original meaning for the individual sounds of an alphabet of a language using the phonetic spelling for words does not appear to be a far-fetched idea. But then how to crack the linguistic phonemic code?

Sanskrit Syllables (Akṣaras) have meanings

According to the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* the original language was monosyllabic.[12] There are Sanskrit monosyllabic particles such as 'tu' (but, on the contrary), 'hi' (indeed), 'ca' (join words), 'na' (negation) and vā (or) having meanings. There are monosyllabic roots like 'dā' (to give), 'mā' (to measure), 'pā' (to drink), 'dhā' (to lay, to hold), and many more having meanings. There is an interesting article about analysis of meaning of Sanskrit words through single sounds in the book of Dr. Kahrs.[12] It is a kind of extreme form of nirvacana analysis, namely that which is based on the semantics of single sounds. A good example of this is provided by the lengthy analysis of the word 'Bhairava' presented by Śivopādhyāya in his commentary on *Vijñānabhairavatantra*. Śivopādhyāya breaks the term 'Bhairava' down into the four syllables bhā-ai-ra-va and then tries to present meanings for each of the syllables, finally adding their meanings and leading to the meaning

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of the word. The degree of success of this method is a different topic. The article offers evidence that such methods were tried in the past. Moreover Sanskrit has many single syllabic words having meanings as described above. This logic could be stretched further to the fixed semantic categories associated with individual phonemes instead of syllables of Sanskrit words. The question is, will this extreme nirvacana analysis work in all cases?

Semantic Dilemma and the use of Meta-Language

Our aim is to find out the atomic meanings of individual phonemes of Sanskrit. But there is dilemma. In order to describe the meaning of a single phoneme, we are forced to use many phonemes carrying their own semantic elements. Assuming that we became successful in doing that, then the atomic meaning of the original phoneme is not independent and hence not fundamental because it can be described by the summation of the atomic meanings of phonemes used to describe it. The self-reference becomes the undoing of completeness for any system of formal logic. In order to come out of this predicament, we will use the minimum number of English words to describe the atomic meanings of phonemes of the Sanskrit language. Here, Sanskrit will be our object language and English, the meta-language, that is, the language of the language!

There is second dilemma. How to decide which concept is atomic, or fundamental or basic or primary and which is not? At this stage, it is decided therefore to give up the phrase atomic concept. A concept could be broad one. If it could be represented by a single phoneme, then it is called condensed representation. A broad concept represented by a single varṇa can be made sharp by adding other varṇas and making a word. This linguistic process appears then opposite of mathematical process. By adding numbers one gets a bigger number. By adding varṇas in a word, one would get a sharper concept. Longer the word, the sharper will be the concept.

Śabda and Saṅketa

The topic of Sanskrit semantics is as old as Sanskrit phonetics. There is difference between dhvanyātmakaśabda and varṇātmakaśabda. The

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second type of śabdas (words) is discussed here. Words mean and they mean something. The power of words (śakti) is a bond between them. Sanskrit distinguishes between yaugika words, yogarūḍha words and laukika words. It is said words used in Vedas are yaugika words. Their meanings in Vedic context may be different from their usage in laukika context. Well, context does have role in understanding word meanings. However isolated words have meanings and we understand them. Does the meaning of a given Sanskrit word arise through Iśvarasaṅketa or through loka-saṅketa? It is easy to understand loka-saṅketa. It means the meaning associated with a given word is by usage or convention of people using it. However how did the convention arise in the beginning is unanswered question. Many everyday languages like English are conventional. Is Sanskrit also a conventional language? Many scholars think so because they believe Sanskrit was born in India from interaction of PIE (Proto-Indo-European) with native languages of India. However Indian Ācāryas thought differently.

Abhidhāna, Abhidheya and Abhidhī

It is said that vāk (speech) is divided into four categories-parā, paśyantī, madhyamā and vaikharī. All discussions in this paper are only for vaikharī-vāk. Sanskrit words can have many different types of meanings. The main ones are abhidhā (the primary meaning), lakṣaṇā (the secondary or extended meaning), vyañjanā (the suggested meaning) and tātparya (the intended meaning). According to Bhartṛhari if any possible law governs the semantic behavior of a word or speech, it can be only the 'direct' one or 'abhidhā'. This is so because ultimately the word is abhidhāna or 'name' and the meaning is abhidheya or 'to be told' depending directly on each other. This mode of relationship has been named as abhidhī. Therefore only abhidhā meanings of Sanskrit śabdas are given attention in this work. Other meanings relate to poetics and figures of speech. Within the realm of abhidhā meaning, a given word may have many meanings by convention or one fixed meaning by some intrinsic mechanism. What could be the intrinsic mechanism other than each individual letter-sounds of the

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Sanskrit alphabet carrying fixed condensed meanings adding up to the final meaning of the Sanskrit word? This is called varṇavāda in this work.

Phonetic and Phonemic Transcription

If the same word is spoken with tonal variations, it may mean differently, for example, it may become sarcastic remark. In the same way one understands the same word no matter when uttered by a man, woman and a child ignoring frequency differences in their voice. In short in case of man, woman and child we hear different dhvanis of the word but its sphoṭa remains the same. In other words no mystery is attached to sphoṭa in this work. Those interested in sphoṭa doctrine in Sanskrit semantics can refer to my paper published by BORI.[13] Language is written as well as spoken. Variations in spoken sounds of words can be represented using detailed phonetic transcriptions. On the other hand sphoṭa of a word is free from phonetic variations or forms. Readers interested to know more about difference between the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions, are requested to refer to the paper of the present author published in Vedic Science.[14] The sphoṭa of Sanskrit words can be written fairly and faithfully using varṇas of Sanskrit alphabet. The writing of Sanskrit words with varṇas of Sanskrit alphabet is called phonemic transcription. The sphoṭa of a śabda with its phonemic transcription is the subject of discussion in this work.

Periodic Table of Articulated Letter-sounds of Sanskrit

In parallel with scholarship of grammarians, phoneticians of ancient India were involved in teaching correct pronunciation of Sanskrit words. They composed various *Śikṣā-sūtras* (Phonetics) in order to delineate minute differences in pronunciations of sounds of Vaidika mantras. We have observed that earlier efforts in deciphering phonemic symbolism were random without any solid theoretical basis. There is no consistency in them. Then I read that Russian scientist Mendeleev invented Chemical Periodic Table after studying the Periodic Table of articulated sounds of Sanskrit alphabet. My specialization in sounds and acoustics immediately focused my attention on the systematic arrangement of letters of Sanskrit alphabet

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in seven rows and five columns. The last two rows were rearranged by me to suit first five rows. The arrangement of articulated letter-sounds designed by the ancient phoneticians of India is matchless in the whole world even today. I started making sonograms of these sounds by using modern digital computer. I was observing them as a kind of hobby. I was also interested in finding Sanskrit anvarthaka saṁjñās for English terminology from modern sciences. Then suddenly idea dawned on me perhaps there might exist hidden systematic periodic semantic network behind the systematic periodic table of articulated sounds. Sanskrit is chosen for this special research because Sanskrit scholars of India made every effort to save original forms of Sanskrit words in the crowd of other Prākṛta languages taking births from masses of India. Even if 70 percent words of Sanskrit remained intact and unchanged, then it is still a lot better stock of words relative to the words of other languages like Hindi or English. Next after many years of contemplation I tied semantic properties of Sanskrit words to the physical properties of sounds. Now my research is not random. It is based on the solid foundation of physics of sounds. Now without wasting time let us see some examples. How did I arrive at these meanings of letter-sounds is long story and we need to reserve it for next paper since this paper is already getting lengthier.

Meaning of Upasargas or Prefixes

We all know upasargas change meanings of roots. If we look into the Sanskrit dictionary of V. S. Apte, we find many meanings are listed under a single upasarga like – abhi. If I would like to create a new Sanskrit word for English technical word, then upasargas having fixed meanings proves to be very useful. I found out that behind multiple meanings of a single upasarga, there has to be a fixed meaning according to my scheme. Upasargas are chosen first because they are made of few phonemes only three phonemes in case of 'abhi'.

However according to the phonemic symbolism proposed in this paper, the prefix **abhi** means the **'process of making a replica'** of something like

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a rubber stamp. Now the replica is a copy of the original or it is like the original or 'as if' it is original. The fixed meaning of the prefix 'abhi' is therefore taken as 'as if' in this work. Let us see examples. Examples are taken from the dictionary of V.S. Apte.

1. **Abhi-naya:** Acting, any theatrical act.

The root in the parent word, naya is 'nī'. Its meaning is to carry, to lead, to guide, to direct. Now in the act of 'acting in a drama', the actor is not carrying anything or anybody physically but he carries with him or directs emotions of audience. This is equivalent to saying, as if he is carrying or guiding or leading.' Here one act is replaced by the other similar act.

2. **Abhi-rūpa:** Corresponding with, conformable or suitable to.

The parent word is 'rūpa'. Its meaning is form, figure, and appearance. When school children mimic the court of law on the stage of their school, it is called Abhirūpa Nyāyālaya (the mock court). It is not a real court but it looks like a court, or 'as if it is a court'. It is like a copy of the real court.

3. **Abhi-ruci:** Desire, taste, liking, relish, delight, pleasure.

The meaning of the parent word 'ruci' is taste. It is the physical act of tasting something, say, a candy bar. But the word abhiruci means liking. When one likes good literature, one is said to have ucca (high) abhiruci or high level taste. Here again the prefix has the same meaning 'as if he is tasting'!

4. **Abhi-jāta:** Original.

The parent word 'jāta' means born. It indicates physical birth. Original poetry or literature is also born but it is not a physical birth from the womb of a mother but from the brain of a poet. However it is like a birth or 'as if born'. It is therefore called abhijāta sāhitya (original literature).

5. **Abhidhā:** The literal sense of a word, denotation.

The parent word 'dhā' means to hold, to set, to contain. The word abhidhā means the denotative meaning of a word. It is the meaning held to the word even in circumstances where the word may suggest different meanings.

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This holding is not physical but it is 'as if holding.' Only the abhidhā meaning of Sanskrit words is the topic of discussion in this research work.

6. **Abhi-jñāna:** Recognition, remembrance.

The parent word 'jñāna' means cognition. The name of one of the dramas of the celebrated Indian poet Kālidāsa is *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*. The king Duṣyanta forgot his bride Śakuntalā because she lost the wedding ring given by him to her. The fisherman, who found the ring, recognized the royal insignia on the ring and took it back to the king. At that moment the king remembered giving the ring to Śakuntalā. The recognition came back to the king because of the copy of the cognition stored in his brain. For this reason Kavi Kālidāsa chose the appropriate name to the drama. It is said that when the GOD realization comes to a devotee, he recognizes'abhijānāti' the GOD. This is so because he knew the GOD originally. He forgot the GOD due to delusion, when the curtain of the delusion (or illusion) is lifted, he recognizes the GOD which is abhijñānam, the replica of the original 'jñānam'.

7. **Abhi-udaya:** Prosperity.

The parent word 'udaya' means physical rise like the Sunrise. However the word abhi-udaya or the sandhi word abhyudaya does not mean a physical rise but 'as if rise'. This is advancement in life or prosperity.

8. **Abhi-nava:** painted, refurbished, polished, recast.

The parent word 'nava' means new but abhinava means 'as if it were new'. This could be because of polishing the item or painting it or redoing it or reworking it makes it like new.

9. **Abhi-saraṇa:** Circulation.

This word was used in connection with the circulation of blood. The parent word 'saraṇa' means to move. The blood in a body moves but it does not go away. It returns or circulates. It appears 'as if it is moving away' which is 'abhisaraṇa'.

10. **Abhi-yukta:** Engaged, or occupied or absorbed in.

The parent word 'yukta' means joined, united, fastened, yoked. When one

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is absorbed say in his study, he is not physically attached to the study. So he is 'as if yukta' or abhi-yukta.

11. **Abhi-cāra**: It means hypocrisy. It is not real cāra but as if it is cāra.

12. **Abhi-dhāna**: Your name is attached to you. But it is not physical attachment. As if it is attached to you.

13. **Abhi-jval**: An oil lamp burns (jvalana) and gives off primary light. It illuminates the room. Now the room is giving off secondary reflected light. That is abhi-jvalan.

14. **Abhīṣṭa cintana**: We do not know what you wish. But we are sending you greetings as if you wished.

These fourteen examples illustrate that the prefix 'abhi' has the fixed meaning 'as if' discovered first time in this work. One has to think slowly to see shades of meaning.

Next let us see examples of fixed meanings of individual phonemes. The sound of the phoneme /c/, is unaspirated and unvoiced. It is an affricate sound. An affricate is simply a stop with fricative release. It is the first letter-sound of the second row of the Sanskrit alphabet. The meaning of the phoneme /c/ discovered is 'to focus'. How did I arrive with this meaning for the phoneme /c/? Well it is through a long process. That will need another paper.

1. **Cakra:** The Sanskrit word for a wheel is cakra. At the center of the wheel, the spokes of the wheel come together on the hub. The pattern is very similar to the act of focusing.

2. **Citra**: The word citra means an image or a picture. We can safely assume the sound of /c/ indicates the focusing action in the meaning of the word citra.

3. **Cakṣu**: The word for an eye is cakṣu. An eye focuses the image of an object on the retina.

4. **Cañcu**: A beak of a bird is focused and it is called cañcu.

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5. **Ācamanam:** In the daily prayers of Sandhyāvandanam, the water is sipped from the cup (focused) of a right hand. The act is repeated three times. The sipping of water from the cup of right hand is called ācamanam. In the act of sipping, lips are focused too. The action of sipping is thus appropriately described by the root 'cam', where the sound of the phoneme /c/ clearly stands for the action of focusing.

6. **Cūḍā:** Tied up hair in a single lock (as if focused) on the crown of the head is called cūḍā.

7. **Cumbanam:** The act of kissing involves focusing of lips. In Sanskrit, the word for kissing is cumbana where the sound of /c/ in its spelling refers to focusing of lips.

Above examples involved the concrete physical objects or actions. Let us study few examples describing abstract actions.

8. **Cintana**: The Sanskrit word cintana means meditation. In meditation one focuses attention on the chosen deity.

9. **Caritra:** The biography of a person is called caritra where narration is focused on that person.

10. **Catura:** A person, clever and focused in conversation is called catura.

11. **Candra:** The Sun light reflected from the surface of the moon reaches the earth. The small size moon located between the big size sun and earth appears like a focusing mirror.

12. **Cuṣ:** The root cuṣ shows the act of sucking with focused lips.

13. **Carvaṇa:** The act of chewing where repeated focusing is achieved is called carvaṇa.

14. **Caraṇa:** The Sanskrit word caraṇa means feet. While walking (root-car) legs appear to be focused at the lower part of the waist. Religion asks to touch the feet of the deity in the temple because it is understood that the spiritual energy is focused at the feet of the deity.

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15. **Cañcala**: The Sanskrit word cañcala means unsteady, not focused. One may now say phonemic symbolism of /c/ breaks down here. That is not the case. The meaning of /c/ goes through steps of gradual changes through the next three phonemes reaching the final nasal /ñ/ where it gets the meaning of 'to defocus' opposite of the meaning of the fist phoneme /c/. The word cañcala means now it is focused and now it is not focused. It means it is unsteady. This is the beauty of phonemic symbolism tied to the periodic table of Sanskrit letter-sounds.

16. **Codanāyantra**: It means a spray gun with a focused opening in the front.

17. **Tvacā**: It means skin having focused pores. This example shows that the phoneme /c/ has the same fixed meaning irrespective of its position in the word.

18. **Ruci**: It means taste. A person enjoys taste of food with tiny taste buds (focused) on tongue.

19. **Guccha**: A bunch of, say, flowers spread on the top and focused together at the bottom.

20. **Racanā**: It means design or arrangement or composition where things are brought into focus.

These examples are enough to prove that a single phoneme /c/ has fixed meaning of 'to focus' in Sanskrit words listed here. Readers can try other words with /c/ in them and check the validity of the discovery.

Let us see one more example of the phoneme /gh/. This is voiced and aspirated velar sound from the first row of Sanskrit alphabet.

The fixed semantic category associated with the phoneme /gh/ is 'decreased resolution' or 'to trap partially'. This meaning comes gradually starting from the first phoneme /k/ whose meaning is 'beginning to resolve'. All steps from /k/ to /gh/ are not described here to avoid research paper becoming too long. Let us see examples.

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1. **Gharṣaṇa**: It means friction of two surfaces together. If the surfaces are very smooth there will be very small friction. Minute protrusions and depressions on rough surfaces produce mutual partial trapping.

2. **Ghana:** It means compact, dense. If the forest is thick with entangled (decreased resolution) trees, bushes, wild vines, it is called ghana forest.

3. **Ghoṣa**: It means noise, tumult, cry, thundering of clouds. Noise in voice is due to fricatives. There is trapping of air stream in voice.

4. **Gharma-bindu**: It means sweat, perspiration drop oozing out of the skin pore. It is not like flowing water. It remains partially out, partially trapped.

5. **Ghaṭikāpātra:** It is the water clock of the ancient India. It is a copper pot with a small hole at the bottom floating on water in the bigger container. Water slowly flows in (trapped) and when the ghaṭikāpātra becomes full, the time interval is called one ghaṭikā.

6. **Ghṛta:** It means ghee. It is trapped in the process of churning of the buttermilk.

7. **Ghūrṇa Vāyu**: It means whirl wind. The wind is trapped moving round and round.

8. **Ghrāṇa:** It is the act of smelling. Smell is trapped over air particles that flow through nose.

9. **Ghoṇa:** The nose also performs action of friction and trapping of dust particles due to its inner moist lining.

10. **Ghaṭa:** It means an earthen pot for storing water. Water droplets are trapped in pores and slowly evaporated by pulling heat from the body of the water thereby cooling water. One can say also that the act of storing water in the pot is itself act of trapping water.

11. **Gharghara**: It means indistinct, purring, gurgling sound with fricatives involved.

12.**Ghaṇṭā**: It means a bell where the central piece oscillates inside the metal shell as if it is trapped inside producing sound of the bell.

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In the meanings of all these words there is an element of partially trapping of something. Something is trying to resolve itself but gets trapped and stays with decreased resolution. All these words started with the phoneme /gh/. Let us see some examples where the phoneme /gh/ appears in the middle of the word or at the end of the word.

13. **Śīghra**: It means rapid, quick, and speedy. If one is going with rapid pace, his pace is not fully resolved and may be partially overlapped.

14. **Megha**: It means a cloud. This is a good example. In a cloud the water vapor is partially trapped. A cloud is foggy, unresolved. One cannot see through it always.

15. **Dīrgha**: It means long, elongated, delayed, kept hanging for a long time. It means something is partially trapped and not moving as fast as expected. We have a saying, "*dīrghasūtrī vinaśyati.*" Thus the meaning 'partially trapped' of the phoneme /gh/ is present in the meaning of this word.

16. **Praghaṭā:** It means the first elements or rudiments of a science. One can use the word praghaṭā for the elements from the chemical periodic table. The periodic table is thus praghaṭā-table.

17. **Saṅgha:** It means a group, collection, multitude, or a number of people living together like saṅgha of Bauddha bhikṣus. They are together but not tied to each other.

These examples are more than enough to prove that the semantic category (partially trapping or decreased resolution) discovered and associated with the Sanskrit phoneme /gh/ is present in words starting with /gh/ as well as in words having it in the middle.

Conclusion

In this paper phonemic symbolism of Sanskrit varṇas was investigated. It was proved that the symbolism works by exploring fixed meanings one upasarga and two phonemes. It is not possible to present fixed meanings of all letter-sounds in one paper. The meanings chosen are not picked up

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on trial and error basis but they were tied to acoustic properties of those phonemes. As acoustic properties move gradually from the first phoneme to the fifth (the last) phoneme of a row in the periodic table of Sanskrit alphabet, so semantic categories move with them from left to right. This is called internal beauty of Sanskrit as opposed to grammar which is the external jewelry of Vāgdevatā.

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3

Indo-European: A construct of Imperialism

Lokesh Chandra

The great mind who saw the basic affinity of classical and contemporary European languages with Sanskrit was William Jones (1746-1793). He was a judge of the Calcutta High Court, an eminent scholar of the classics, a master of Sanskrit, and above all he conveyed to Europe the beauty of Sanskrit literature in its poetic and dramatic genres. The British administrators were young intellectuals who had a firm grounding in classical education, as many cultural, political and social institutions had their birth in classical times. The roots of European civilization lay in Greece and Rome. An understanding of their origin was a valuable preparation for the appreciation of modern problems and they provided clarity for their solution. Besides their socio-political significance, the precision of Greek and Latin, the logic of Latin and the beauty of Greek were unsurpassed in imparting clear thought and expression. Etymology, phonetics, classification of parts of speech, and the precise meaning of words formed a staple element of Greek education since the early 6th century BC. The renaissance from the 14th century onwards aimed at using classical antiquity to serve modern man. Before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, Greek literature was saved from the advance of the Turks. The scientific treatises in Greek gave rise to the natural sciences when learning shifted from the theology of God to the homocentric natural sciences. The largest number of successful candidates in the classical honors examination at Oxford and the classical tripos at Cambridge came to the administrative branch of the civil service. Business firms gave preference to trainees with a good grounding in the classics. Emerging nation states in Europe and expanding Western empires

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across the globe were inspired by vast conquests of Greece and Rome covering two thousand years from 1500 BC to 500 AD. William Jones was a product of this classical linguistic culture, political thought of imperialism and European superiority. William Jones gained great fluency in Sanskrit and with his deep knowledge of Greek and Latin, he realized the genetic relationship of Sanskrit and European languages in less than four months after he started learning Sanskrit. On 2nd February 1786 he said:

> The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong that no philologer could examine all the three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic, though blended with a different idiom had the same origin with the Sanskrit, and the old Perisan might be added to the same family." (Asiatic Researches 1.422-3)

It became the starting point of comparative linguistics. At once he conceived of "some common source" so that IE languages were not derived from Sanskrit but form some original extent language. He also spoke of the "first progenitors of the [Hindu] race before their dispersion" (*Asiatic Researches* 2.289). Thus he laid down certain basic concepts of (i) an extinct original language, (ii) dispersion of the Hindus leading to the migration and Aryan invasion theory, (iii) Sanskrit as a daughter language like others. The idea of a lost common ancestor was to relegate Sanskrit to a lesser position. How could an impoverished and repressed, decadent and dark India be the roots of European languages? The Greek historian, Herodotus (484-425 BC) speaks of the clash of the Greeks with the barbarians i.e. the Persians even when the Persians had won in the battle of Thermopylae. Stunned by

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the victory of the barbarian armies of Xerxes he investigated the origins and causes of wars and what had led to the victory of the barbarians. He found relief in the fact that Pakthas or Pathans who formed the vanguard were not Persians. To William Jones too Europeans were superior to the Indians and other Asians by reason of their minds, and he cited Aristotle the sage preceptor in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1801: "Though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince (Alexander) that the Asiatics are born to be slaves, yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid."

To exclude Sanskrit as the origin, inspite of its 'wonderful structure', 'more perfect' grammar and 'more copious' vocabulary a hypothetical language was concocted. It had to be spoken by 'a' people, and they had to have 'a' home: both in the singular. An imaginary people were envisaged and in the context of the Biblical myth of Japhet's descendants in Iranian lands they were placed in this region in the earlier stages of linguistic studies. To explain the presence of IE languages in far-fetched lands, the theory of "invasions" seemed to be a logical proposition. All these surmises had Biblical undertones of 'one' or unicentrism: one language, one people, one homeland and a uniform pattern of aggression. Unicentrism is a direct offshoot of monotheism with its concomitants of The Absolute, fundamentalism and finality of dogma as an unquestionable fact. When Jones wrote his famous letter on the genealogical connection of languages, he must have wondered whether Sanskrit was the foundation of the IE languages, with its rich declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs whose fragments alone would be seen in Greek and Latin. The prefix, root and suffix was clear and alive in Sanskrit, while it was mostly a petrified element in these two languages. The living creativity of Sanskrit was in stark contrast to fossilization of generative grammar in Greek and Latin. With due deference to his Biblical faith and appropriate imperialistic concerns, Jones wrote in diplomatic politeness that they had the same

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origin with the Sanskrit. Johns was fully aware of the highly complex and cultivated civilization of Sanskrit and he stated in his English translation of Sacontla or the fatal ring, an Indian drama, by Kālidāsa (published from Calcutta in 1789): "Whatever the age when drama was first introduced in India, it was carried to great perfection it in its kind, when Vikramāditya who reigned in the first century before Christ gave encouragement to poets, philosophers, and mathematicians at a time when Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat."

Jones was definitive in his faith in Christianity but wanted to avoid controversies ("the vain warfare of controversial divinity")

In his article '*On the philosophy of the Asiaticks*' in *the Asiatic Researches* 4.174 he wrote; " Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history is true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence". The Biblical notion was that all nations of Asia and Europe, besides the Semitic and Hamitic, were descended from Japhet one of the sons of Noah. After Jones, Jaohetic was the only term for IE nations and languages. Jones followed the Biblical trail to the Ark whence sons of the three branches of the human family "proceeded from Iran where they migrated at first in great colonies." It was natural for him to took for the homeland of his foreheads in Iran or Central Asia. This track continued to be relevant even after the scientific study of linguistic interrelations and systematic correspondences had replaced the Japhetic theory. Every IE word needed a counterpart in Avesta which was the language of Iran in the Japhetic migration. An analogous case of the Uralic past of the Finns may be cited: 'In the 17th century scientific authorities in the country [i.e Finland] named Noah as our forefather. When the Finnish national epic the Kalevala appeared in 1835, the Finns delved into its heroic world to find their roots. Today, we are closer, to the truth. Millennia ago our forefathers wandered from the Volga region to the Gulf of Finland, took a liking to the place and settled down. We hang on to our Uralic language (Pirkko Puoskari, The Finnish paradox: eastern tongue, western features, p. 43) The Urgrund of Biblical Truth (with a capital T for

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theocratic propriety) has to be replaced by scientific facts which are complex because of the several socio-political and ethnical integrations over many millennia. Biblical shimmering and Eurocentric concepts still condition a correct understanding of the tangle of the evolution of IE languages.

The mono-nationalism of Europe found expression in the very first words of William Jones and it was confirmed by the first IE linguist Franz Bopp that European languages cannot be considered to be derived from Sanskrit. A hypothetical simplification was sought in the reconstruction of an IE language, an imaginary people who spoke it, a fancied homeland where they lived, and their dispersion to account for the immense geographic distribution. IE invasion of India was a cautious proposition when mooted, but assumed factual certainly as time passed by and most Western linguists have supported it with vehement thoroughness, particularly in Germany.

The 19th century was one of the understandable and visible superiority of Europe in science and law, in experiment and analysis, in constant improvement as perpetually open in all fields of life. Europe had succeeded in conquering vast parts of Asia and Africa in their *Drang nach Osten* "Push to the East" This Zeitgest has lasted till our times. Prof. Manfred Korfmann from Tubingen carried out excavations in the city of Troy described by Homer. He said in November 1989. "It was politically essential that the Trojan War can be interpreted as a struggle of the West against the East, Europe against Asia." The formulations of Jones, innocuous in their wording, had implicit undercurrents of "victor's justice" of the 18th century, that continues to haunt even Indian academic perceptions, carefully defended by protectionist bounties to scholars.

'We above all' (uber alles) mindset of European scholarship has escalated into a protectionist syndrome whereby even if the IE theory has untenable problems it has to be sustained as the Truth. The IE theory is a product of imperialism, evangelism and protectionism. In the new era of globalization, when civilization shines on all countries and on all people equally, we need a correct theorization of the multi-level relations of Sanskrit and other

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languages. It has to be a "dogma-free: concept" which honors the complexity of interconnections of these languages as well as avoids anachronism. How can we equate Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic and other groups which are millennia apart in time. It is a unity in the diversity of the time and space, which need new formulation. The romanticized Western notion of the Aryan invasion was the academic counterpart of imperialistic colonization so that India could accept and own an honorable ignominy. The IE theory in Japanese is *gyokusai* 'jewel smashing' which means to smash the jewel of one's own precious life. The IE people, their original home and their invasions have remained the "Absolute Defense Zone" with obsessive persistence, and none dare question it.

We can introduce the new term SE (= Sanskrit-European) to denote a family of several distinctive languages (not an original language or Ursprache), with a strong base of Sanskrit derived basic vocabulary and inflexion. It is to avoid confusion with the various perceptions of the imperialist Eurocentric and fundamentalist Judeocentric concept of a single protolanguage of Indo-European, a single hypothetical IE people who spoke it, and their Urheimat. Two hundred years of toil and genius have gone into this wild goose chase to keep Sanskrit out. Mallory 1989: 94 points out: "That Italy was Indo–Europeanized from sometime after 3000 BC and prior to 800 BC there is little doubt," indicated that Indo-Europeanization was a linguistic acculturation of non-IE people.

Controversial historical phenomena have to be studied in the contest of a new world order where imperialism, eurocentrism, theocratism are being replaced by realities. We have to comprehend our past in its totality of international exchanges in prehistoric times as they contributed to far–reaching social and economic changes. Intertribal tiers from the fifth millennium BC onwards have been crucial to the linguistic evolution of common elements in SE (Sanskrit-European) languages. They are reflected in the multi-level vocabulary of the different groups of European languages. The 18th and 19th century tradition is replete with "trimming" history to

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conform to contemporary political contexts. It has to be replaced by new blueprints of objective analyses. Some linguists have speculated about words that do not hypothetical *Urvolk* live. Can the absence of a common SE word for 'milk' force us to conclude that the babies of the *Urvolk* did not feed on milk? It questions the very existence of the hypothetical *Urvolk*, and raises the probability of ethno-diversity as reflected in linguistic dissimilarities. When Hutton's *Theory of the Earth* challenged the Biblical account of creation custodians of the Pentateuch were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the tower of Babel. To anticipate the danger, they pilloried Sanskrit as a priestly fraud, a kind of pidgin-classic concocted by Brahmins from Greek and Latin elements. Frederick Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*, London 1945, p.181) . In the terminology of the custodians of the Pentateuch IE is a "concoction" where Latin hold primacy for example in IE *ekwos* for Skt. Aśva k of IE reflects q of Latin *equus*. In Latin *equus* has no root and is a frozen word, while in Sanskrit aśva is form the root as to be master of: the horse gave mastery over lands it was the fastest conveyance and hence of strategic importance.

While the monogenetic IE language, a people who spoke it, and their diffusion through migration or invasion was taken for granted, their original home posed insurmountable problems. The imperialistic mind-set of the 19th century gave rise to three implicit or subconscious hypotheses of (i) albinism or a superior white race, (ii) Biblical creationism, and (iii) Eurocentrism. All of them conditioned the location of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans. Mallory (1989 : 267) represents the: (i) first hypothesis in the following words: "Naturally, if these early Aryans were the ancestors of the Europeans, then they too must have been part of the superior white race." He repeats it on the next page 268: "the common opinion of most scholars prior to the later 19th century was that the Aryan homeland must lie in Asia. While no one doubted that the Aryans belonged to the white race, up until the end of the 1860s most believed that this race originally dwelt somewhere in the vicinity of the Hindu Kush or Himalayas."

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ii. The Biblical theory is that humanity is the descendent of the sons of Noah and the non-Semitic and non-Hamitic peoples have descended from his third son Japheth. They lived somewhere in the Mesopotamian region. This has unconsciously led linguists to trace the original homeland in Asia minor or central Asia.

iii. The anti-Romantic attitude of Hegel is inseparable from his criticism of the romantic glorification of India "Hegel never loses his occidental and anthropocentric self confidence. Such self-confidence deflects Europe's historical position at the beginning of the 19th century (Halbfass 1988:95). Halbfass (p.96) echoes the feelings of Hegel: "European thought has to provide the context and categories for the exploration of all traditions of thought." Hegel found "infinite absolute negatively in the thought of F. Schlegel and sharply criticized his romantic fascination with ancient India. Schlegel had to convert to Catholicism in 1808 and relocated the "cradle of mankind" to Biblical Mesopotamia (Halbfass p.75)

Hegel was advocated of the superiority of Europe over the rest of the world and he justified the historical necessity of Europe's colonial expansion in his *phanomenologie des Geists* (6th edition p.19). In 1870 Lazarus Geiger supported a homeland in Germany. Eight years later, in 1878 Theodor Poesche, placed the IE in the Pripet marches of Eastern Europe. The IE were fair and the highest incidence of albinism is in Europe. Hegel held the view that history had decided in favour of Europe, and his European horizon transcended all others. Hegelian thought has conditioned most of the future locations of the original homeland.

In 1805 Frederick von Schlegel (1772-1829) derived all languages from Sanskrit (Ma.26). Only three years later, under Hegelian compulsions, in 1808 he gave up the study of Sanskṛt, his enthusiasm for India came to end, he converted to diehard Catholicism, and located the homeland in Biblical Mesopotamian (Halbfass -75). In 1816 Franz Bopp wrote: "I do not believe that Greek, Latin and other European languages are to be considered as derived from Sanskrit. I feel rather inclined to consider them altogether as

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subsequent variations of one original tongue" (Ma.27). Sanskrit was part of Western historical self exploration, and it was not a study *sui generis*.

J. Schmidt believed that the IE homeland was adjacent to the Babylonian empire (Ma. 37) Tamaz Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov have published a thematical glossary of IE in two volumes. On the basis of this glossary, material culture (animals, food products, plants, spiritual culture and social structure they conclude that Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia could have been the original homeland.

According to Renan the Bible suggests that Central Asia was the home of mankind. In 1859 he placed the IE homeland in the Pamir plateau in Central Asia. In 1873, Albert Pike suggested Sogdiana, in 1888 Max Muller located it "somewhere in Asia", in 1907 Joseph Widney derived the IEs from the steppes of Central Asia and 1921 C. F. Keary set it between the Jaxartes and the Oxus (JIES 1. 28, 30, 33, 41, 42).

Megasthenes "transferred his observations into his own Greek framework of understanding; only Greek names and concepts are used to describe and interpret Indian cultural and religious phenomena" (Halbfass 1988: 14). The same mind can be observed in the frantic efforts to find a European home of the IE people. Actual date is conflicting and leads to several possibilities. The evidence has been over-interpreted, without consideration of the canons of logic. It is a one-sided subjectivity based on the peak of Europe's intellectual progress. James Mallory has given a short history of the homeland of the IE peoples, of *the journal of Indo-European Studies* (1973: 1.21-65). We cite here the views of scholars about it during the last 150 years.

1851 R. G. Latham: Lithuania (p.28)
1852 A. Schleicher: Caspian Sea (P.28)
1878 Theodor Poesche: Baltic region based on physical anthropology (p.31)
1890 A.H. Sayce: "This Aryan family of speech was of Asiatic origin".
1890 A.H. Sayce: "This Aryan family of speech was of European origin".
1927 A.H. Sayce: " It was in Asia Minor that the IE languages developed" (p.143)

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1886 Karl Penka Scandinavia based on linguistic paleontology (p.31-32)
1890 Daniel Brinton : Western Europe (p 35)
1890 Otto Schrader : South Russia (p. 36-37)
1892 Herman Hirt: Baltic region (p.37)
1902 M. Much: NW Europe (p.38)
1906 Paape: North Europe (p. 40)
1912 F. Knauer: Volga (p.41)
1913 Sigmund Feist: South Russia (p.41)
1922 Harold Bender: Lithuania (p 43)
1926 P. Giles: Pannonian plain of Hungary (p.43)
1934 V. Gordon Childe: SW Russia (p.44)
1934 T. Sulimirski: South Russia (p.47)
1935 Walter Schulz: North or Central Europe (p.47)
1935 Gustav Neckel: North of Central Europe (p.48)
1936 Hans Seger: Europe (p. 48)
1936 Julius Pokorny : Central Europe (p. 49)
1937 C. Uhlenbeck: from the Aral-Caspian steppes by way of South Russia (p.50)
1939 N.S. Trubetzkoy: between the Finno-Ugric and Caucasian peoples (p.50)
1943 Stuart Mann: North or NE Europe (p.50)
1948 Ernst Meyer: North or Central Europe (p.51)
1953 Paul Thieme: North German –Baltic region (p.54)
1955 Hugh Hencken: SE Europe and SW Russian steppe (p.55)
1957 Hans Krahe: Old European (p.56)
1958 Gustav Schwantes: Northern Europe (p.57)

The racial theories of Nordic race: the characterization of "Old European" by Hans Krahe by the flora and fauna of Europe resulted in a distinctly European home. Indo-Iranians was dismissed as a "*major problem*" (Mallory p.54). Opinions have varied from one extreme to the other: from 'a common genetic origin' (*a common language*. p.53) to the contrary

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position that 'a single Ursprache' was not necessary for explaining the IE language family (Mallory 1989 p.50). A vague idea of "an indigenous non-IE speaking substratum or an imported IE language" (Mallory p.48) comes up occasionally.

The criteria for the authentic reconstruction of Proto-Indo European (PIE) of Indo European (IE) were based on (i) common inflection: the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs, (ii) words of common origin preserved in languages situated as far as possible (e.g. Skt PIE medhā, Celtic *midvo*), (iii) words which existed in the most ancient languages (Skt. yuga, PIE *yuga*, Hittite *yuga*: all meaning yoke. The criteria of space and time lent authenticity to reconstruct.

The monogenetic theory of all IE languages going back to a single hypothetical language faces serious problems:

(i) A common word in two or three European languages which has no cognates in other IE languages esp. Indo-Iranian cannot be IE.

(ii) The distinctive flora and fauna of lands is not and cannot be shared in all IE. The names of trees reconstructed for the PIE landscape "have no Asian cognates while there is abundant correspondence in European languages. The basic rule is that there must be at least one cognate in Europe and one in Asia." (Mallory 1989: 115)

(iii) Even basic words like 'milk' and 'hand' cannot be reconstructed in IE.

(iv) While in most European languages the words for brother and sister are cognates of Sanskrit *bhrātar* and *svasar*, in Greek they are *adelphos* 'brother' and *adelphe* 'sister', and they are again different in Home *kasignetos* 'brother' and *kasignete* 'sister'. When there are different words for such basic relationships, how can we speak of a monogenetic base of all the SE languages.

(v) IE is such an artificial construct of linguists that it cannot be pronounced. A language has to be and is spoken. When it cannot be uttered, how could it have been a living system of communication or a real language. The word for dog is

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**pkuon* (Ma 275. n. 23), and *SṁH 'pair' (JIES 1.111): can they be pronounced? An American professor came to Delhi to speak on IE culture. I asked him: how do you pronounce IE words . His reply was: they are not meant to be pronounced.

(vi) Anna Morpurgo Davies (The linguistic evidence, in G. Cadogan ed,. *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*, Ledien, 1986:93-123) examined and found that Greek vocabulary is 40% of transparent IE etymology, 8% of non-Greek origin, and 52% with no clear etymology. The most ancient European language is thus 60% non–Indo-European. IE is an overlay over earlier languages whose non IE vocabulary survives but whose inflection has been Indo-Europeanised.

(vii) For example, king in Greek is *basileus* which is not attested by any other IE language (Burk 1949: 1321). Similarly, Gk *adelphos* 'brother' and *adelphe* 'sister' are non-SE words (ib. 107). They represent the non-SE substratum language.

(viii) Julius Pokorny (1936) showed that Spain, Italy and Greece had a non–IE substratum (JIES.1.49) Marija Gimbutas (1963, 1970) points out that the Old European Civilization was clearly non-IE (ib. 58). Mallory says (1989:258): "We tend to shy away from making the IEs anything but a numerical minority in their relations with the substrates which they eventually assimilated on a broad scale this is probably correct, yet we have no reason to exclude the development of IE majorities in many local situations that brought about the progressive assimilation of non-IE-speaking neighbors. Further on, Mallory 1987: 258-9 elaborates: "When two languages come into contact, people speaking one of them do not immediately abandon their own and adopt the language of the other. A prerequisite to language shift is societal bilingualism. This may remain quite stable over a long period but in the case of Indo-European expansions it was obviously a prelude to the adoption of Indo-European. We assume for the expansion of the Indo-European languages that native populations became bilingual for a time, speaking both their own language and adopting that of the intruder. Normally social context determines which language is spoken.

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For example, natives might have spoken their own language at home but IE in the market place or at ceremonial activates. If the intrusive language is employed in more and more different contexts, it will eventually lead to the total replacement, or language death as it is sometime called, of the native language."

(ix) "That Italy was Indo-Europeanized from sometime after 3000 BC and prior to 800 BC , there is little doubt." (Mallory 198:94). This statement implies that (i) there were already a people who naturally had their language. (ii) their language was IEised by newcomers, (iii) this took place after 3000 BC, (iv) and they were not descendants of a single hypothetical IE language speakers but became members of a new linguistic family as they shared the majority of its vocabulary and inflexion.

(x) Herald Harmann (1995) deals with the "continuous process of transformation in which non-IE patterns were gradually superceded by IE ones."

Several strata are embedded in the SE languages, and all have left their traces in the vocabulary. While transformation was going on for millennia in grammar and lexicography, nature specific to the area (like flora and fauna,) and social categories that resisted change have retained specific words in different language groups of SE. We can speak of four major strata:

i. The non–SE substratum language
ii. Pan–European vocabulary, as in flora and fauna
iii. Superstratum of Sanskritisation in grammar and basic vocabulary
iv. Latinisation of European languages in early and later Christian centuries

We have to distinguish between the two layers of IE (i) Pan-European vocabulary which has nothing to do the Sanskrit and should not be considered IE/PIE. It obviates the problem of the Urheimat, which was never a contiguous geographic area, but several zones inhabited by the pre-IE Celtic, Germanic, Romance, Slavic, Baltic, and other peoples. (ii) The second Layer of IE words is the superstratum of Sanskrit words and inflexions borrowed by the groups that led to an overarching unity of SE languages.

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The Sanskritisation of SE languages began around the fifth millennium B.C. The time depth for phonetic changes has been estimated by Mallory (p.145) "broadly within the period 4500-2000 BC. This intuitive sense of reckoning also implies a stratigraphy of IE wherein widely separated linguistic groups must have been Sanskritised at different epochs. The word for God in four language groups is:

Greek *theos*

Germanic *god*

Romance, Baltic *dues*

Slavic *bog*

Greek *theos* is not found in any other IE language. It is cognate to Skt. dhiṣṇyaḥ 'devout, pious' of the *Ṛgveda*. It is the earliest word for 'god' and represents the first period of Sanskritisation. The second period is represented by the ritualistic term *god*, from the Skt. root hū make an offering'. It is to invoke a diety, as in Indrahū devahū pitṛhū in the *Ṛgveda*.

The fourth and last period of Sanskritisation is represented by the Slavic *bog* from bhaga 'gracious lord' (applied to gods, esp. Savitṛ). For the 'day' there are three main words. (i) GK. *emera* (no etymology), Engl. Day, German *Tag* from Skt. Dāgha 'heat', nidāgha 'summer' Slavic/ Baltic *den*', *diena* from Skt dina.

The hydronymy of Eastern Europe includes the major rivers whose names are from dānu 'river' in the Ṛgveda. The Don, dnieyber from *dānu aparā* ('river to the rear') Dniester Danube (Celtic Danuvius) (Mallory p.78 Fig.48) Skomal and Polome explain the Baltic river names Indus, Indura, Indra as related to Skt. *Indu* 'drop'. (ib -276)

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The Sanskrit speakers must have travelled along rivers in the early millennia (5000-2000 BC), as the populations lived on them. Even in 2000 BC Europe was a dark forest. As they faced opposition from the residents on the rivers (*dānu*) they became *dānava* who are implacable enemies of the devas in the *Ṛgveda*. The word *dānu* in RV 1.54.7 means a class of demons.

Indian merchants must have gone to these distant and dangerous lands of Europe for trading purposes. India had a strong agricultural economy with oil from sesame and other seeds, as distinct from lard used for cooking in Europe to this day. Pliny has said that clothes grow on plants in India, referring to cotton which provided the most comfortable and aesthetic dressing material, again in contrast to the use of animal skins for garments in Europe, so much so that it survives in cotton *wool*. India had discovered the sugar-cane for manufacturing sugar, while the rare honey was the only sweetening agent elsewhere in the early millennia. How early are such discoveries and what is their role in Indian trade with the West?

Mallory (p.145) says: "the evidence of IE vocabulary indicates that the PIEs should have existed broadly within the period 4500-2500 BC". This time-depth of 2000 years for the development of phonetic changes is realistic. The Sanskritisation of the language groups happened in waves of migrants at different times and hence the differences in vocabulary are marked. The horse was introduced in the West in the second millennium BC. The woed aśva shows three steams of correspondences:

i. Skt. aśva, Hieroglyphic Luwian *asuwa* Mitanni *asus-sanni* 'horse trainer' (Sanskrit aśva-sani)
ii. Avesta *aspa*, GK *hippos*, Gaulish *epo-*. The p is from Avesta, where Skt. va becomes pa.
iii. Lat. *equ-us*, Toch. A *yuk*. Toch. B *Yakwe*, Mycenean *i-qo*, Venetic *eku;* Old Irish *ech*, where SKt. ś is q or kh.

Mallory (p.115) notes: "A survey of the standard IE handbooks reveals that anywhere from three to eighteen trees have been reconstructed for the PIE landscape. The main problem here lies in the paucity of cognate names

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in any of the Asiatic languages and the abundance of correspondence that can be found in the European languages. Where these trees did not exist in the area where Sanskrit and Avesta were spoken. It is natural that these languages had no names for them. The words for trees are the Pan –European stratum of every language group and to put into the PIE is to force the argument.

The discovery of Mehergarh of the seventh millennium BC documents sedentism, the beginning of food production and the village farming way of life Possehl 1990: 261. The earliest stratum evidences domesticated barley, wheat and Indian jujube (Hindi ber). These Indians must have travelled across the wooded lands for trade from the fifth millennium BC onwards. In the process Sanskrit vocabulary and inflexions were introduced into the local languages as the Indians were more advanced than the local populations. They completely merged with them and the linguistic innovation of a Sanskrit vocabulary and inflexions thus an integral part of the languages spoken by persons of differing ethnic identity. In the 14-15th centuries BC the Mitanni were Indians who ruled over a Hurrian population. A Mitanni King Matiwaza concludes a tray with the Hittite king suppiluliumas in ca 1380 BC where he swears by Hurrian gods followed by Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsstya. A treatise on horse–training and chariotry by Kikkuli the horse–trainer (assu-ssani = Skt. Aśvasani) from the land of Mitanni has Sanskrit numerals for the couses that a chariot makes about a track: aika (eka), tera (tri), panza (pañca), satta (sapta) and na (nava). This text was discovered from the Hittite capital. The Mitannis introduced horse-drawn war chariots and replaced the ass in West Asia. This 'militarization' became a potent force in the rise of Mesopotamian cities and civilization. The horse had a military function and a sovereign function by enhancing the power of expansion. The Sanskrit word aśva is from the root aś to become master of in the *Ṛgveda*, 'to pervade, penetrate, fill' in Yāska. Indian enshrined the sovereign function of the horse into the word aśva itself. The mobility of the Indians was enhanced by the horse, and gave them an opportunity to

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dominate large political territories: that is how the Indian Mitannis (Skt. Maitrāyaṇī) could govern the Hurrians though ultimately they merged into them. The Mitanni empire lay in Northern Syria but they expanded from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Zagros mountains. They came into conflict with the Egyptians. They exported horse-drawn war-chariots to Egypt. The Egyptian king married the daughter of the Mitanni King Sutarna. In 1410 BC King Tviṣratha of the Mitanni wrote a letter to the king of Egypt. Tviṣratha means having a 'chariot of terror'. The names of some to other kings of the Mitanni King are: Artasumara (Skt. Ṛtasmara), Artadāma (Ṛtadhāmā), Matiwāza (Mativāja), Parśasastar (Para-śāstar) Sauśsatar (Saukṣatra), Sudarna or sutarna (Sudharaṇa). The *maryannu* or military nobles in the Mitanni state were men of rank who could support a chariot or two horses who could be summoned for service to the king in any emergency. In the *Ṛgveda* the *marya* are retainers of Indra always in chariots with the war god. The science of warfare of the Indians had striking power that was bound to have linguistic repercussions.

In the 16th century B.C. Indian deities Surias (Sūrya) and Marutas 'Wind God' are invoked by the Kassites.

The terms of chariotry have cognates in the IE language. The word ratha is attested in Iranian, Italic, Celtic, Baltic, and Germanic. Words for wheel/ wagon shaft of a wagon, harness, axle, navel, yoke have correspondence to Sanskrit. Hanns A Potratz (*Das Pferd in der Fruhzeit 1939*) says that horse-training must have been introduced in the 18th century BC to West Asia. The kingdoms of Hittite, Kassite and Mitanni kings in West Asia and their military superiority had far-reaching consequences. Young Achaean or Greek princes were sent to the Hittite capital for training in a chariotry. The new military strategy enable the Achaeans to destroy the Cretan capital Knossos in the 15th century. In 1180 BC they destroyed Troy. Kings of Greece in the second millennium BC were the sons of Zeus or Dyauṣ. According to the Homeric epics, Zeus was armed with lightning with which he exterminated his enemies.

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The might of the Indian horse and chariot, the superior technologies of India arisen out of agricultural development, the sophistication of language that promoted both poetic elegance and technical precision, made Sanskrit a universal language from the fifth millennium onwards. Crucial words of SE languages were derived from Sanskrit and their inflexion was substituted by that of Sanskrit. The time depth, pronunciation habits (ṣ became kh or c of centum) and other factors led to phonetic changes. In the long historic processes of evolution, words of the earler substratum, Pan-European words, SE words, and the enrichment of European languages by Latin in the early centuries of the Christian era are the clearly definable multi-stratum of SE languages. A hypothetical IE language never existed, there could be no speakers and no home (Urheimat). The only constraint has been: how could Eruopean scholars say that Sanskrit the language of subject Indians (in 19th century) gave rise to the languages of Europe over a time-depth of about three millennia (5000-2000 BC).

India needs a new, creative, un–biased vision of her history by scholars whose spirit absorbs her expanse, the strength of her land, her vastness and will (kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam). This historic quest has to roam about the visions of the rich past millennia as well as the dreams of the limitless possibilities of the future. To cite the great poet Rabindranath Tagore: "Fortunate countires find the everlasting image of their land in their own history. It is history that serves as the introduction to one's own country during one's childhood itself. In our case it is just the opposite thing that happens: it is the history of our country that has kept our own land obscured to us."

A review of the chronology due to new archaeological discoveries with the knowhow of ultramodern technology, will reveal that our roots, hundreds and thousands of them, have been the spiritus movens of the very heart of our land and people for the last ten thousand years. The eerie hush of time invites a new look on the roots and the top where the head of Bharata soars into the sky.

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4

Mahbhāṣyādarśa : A Poetic Commentary on the Mahābhāṣya

Gopabandhu Mishra

The Pāṇinian system of grammar is known for its uniqueness in its form and objectivity. It has an age-old tradition of longest ever commentaries, philosophical interpretations and exegeses. It is generally called "*trimuni vyākaraṇa*" consisting of three sages, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The *Mahābhāṣya* (Mbh) of Patañjali is having its key-figure for the commentary on the sūtras of Pāṇini and the *vārtikas* of Kātyāyana and it has invited a good number of commentators and they are Bhartṛhari (with his *Dīpikā*), Kaiyaṭa (with his *Pradīpa*) and Nāgeśa (with his *Pradīpoddyota*). As it was the common practice regarding the commentary on the rules and theories, all of these commentators have their commentaries in prose form. But *Mahābhāṣyādarśa*, an unpublished manuscript, is a very rare commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* which is in poetry form. This paper is to present the features of the manuscript and its specialities.

The manuscript Mahābhāṣyādarśa and Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Pāṭhaka

It is a Sanskrit commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* which is in verse-form. It's author is Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Pāṭhaka who identifies himself as the son of Śrī Murāri Pāṭhaka in the first verse and as well as in the colophon of each āhnika :

> "*iti śrīmurāri pāṭhakasuta śrīlakṣmaṇa pāṭhakakṛte .....*"

It is the single manuscript preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France (National Library of France), Richelieu, Paris (France). The New Catalogus Catalogorum mentions also this single copy of the manuscript is available here only. It is in Indian paper in 27 leaves and 54 pages (both the sides of each leaf

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is having the hand-written matter). The left síde corner of each page is marked with the abbreviation of the book, *Mahābhāṣyādarśa* : *Mabhādarśa*. There is also a micro-film of the manuscript in the same bibliotheque.

The period of the manuscript is the 18th century, as it is noted in the catalogue of the manuscripts in the biliotheque. It is supposedly the second half of the 18th century, because the author mentions the name of the commentary *uddyota* of Nāgeśa who was in the first half of 18th century: "*śrīmatkaiyaṭasūriṇākḥtatataduddyotepi nāgeśataḥ*".

It is in Devanāgarī script with a beginning of an oblation to lord 'Heramba' in the very beginning of the commentary:
"Śrīherambaprasannam" "Heramba" and
another oblation to goddess *Śrītulajā*:
"*natvā śrītulajāṁ svakīyakulajābhīṣṭapradāṁ..*"

This type of oblation of *Heramba* and *Tulajā* is found in the southern part of Maharashtra, India. Hence, it may be inferred that the author belongs to this state. He memorizes the words of the sages (here it is, of course, three sages of Pāṇinīan system of grammar) as it was practiced in his gurukula which indicates his profound knowledge of this system of grammar.[1]

Cause of writing the commentary in poetry

According to Śrī Pāṭhaka the Mbh is as like as an ocean (full of jewel-like knowledge of Pāṇinīan grammar). Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa have made a bridge for an easy entry into it. Now the author of this commentary has, hereby, prepared the steps made of pearl-like beautiful verses in order to facilitate the scholars in collecting those precious internal jewel-like views well preserved in the Mbh ocean.[2]

In another stanza he says the composing poetry form of knowledge is an ideal work and here it is for the collection of the various meanings of the Mbh.[3] As it is indicated here, the author thinks that although there are many bridges like long and vast commentaries in the conventional prose form, this poetry form of the commentary of the Mbh will be there to follow

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it in an easy and summarized way. It might be the reason to name the commentary ĀDARŚA (ideal).

Area of Mahābhāṣyādarśa

Śrī lakṣmaṇa Pāṭhaka might have thought to make this poetry form of commentary Ādarśa for the whole of the Mbh since he utters to review the meanings in plural arthānām (śrīmanmahābhāṣyag-ārthānāmākalanāya-Mbhdar.). It begins with the first āhnika, i.e. adhyāya 1, pāda 1 & āhnika 1 which is named in the Mbh as paspaśā and proceeds up to the āhnika 5, i.e. adhyāya 1, pāda 1 & āhnika 5 (*Ḍati ca & ktaktavatū niṣṭhā* 1.1.25 / 26). after that, the commentary is on *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* 1.1.27 in two verses that ends in verse no. 105. Then the heading of the next rule (1.1.28) *vibhāṣādiksamāse bahuvrīhau* is mentioned as it is usual with other rules. But due to some reason unknown to us, the commentary ends here (without the commentary on the rule 1.1.28) and we find only those 105 verses.

Each āhnika is having its own colophon with the names of the author, his father, the book and, of course, the relevant āhnika, e.g.

> *iti śrīmurāri-pāṭhakasuta-śrīlakṣmaṇa-pāṭhakakīte*
> *śrī mahābhāṣyādarśaprathamādhyāyasya prathame pāde prathamāhnikam*

It indicates that it was intended to do the commentary on all the āhnikas, but could not be completed.

Contents

As stated above the book contains 105 verses and its distribution is as follows.

introductory verses no. 1-3

āhnika 1 ve. 4-30

āhnika 2 ve. 31-59 (*aiuṇ* 31,32; *ṛḷk* 33-35; *eoṅ, aiauc* 36-41; *hayavaraṭ* 42-54; *laṇ* 55; *ñamaṅaṇanam, jhabhañ* 56-59)

āhnika 3 *vṛddhirādaic* 1.1.1,ve. 60-68

iko guṇavṛddhī 1.1.3, ve. 69-73

āhnika 4 *na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke* 1.1.4, ve. 74

kṅiti ca 1.1.5, ve. 75

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dīdhīvevīṭām 1.1.6, ve. 76
halo'nantarāḥ saṁyogaḥ 1.1.7, ve. 77,78
mukhanāsikāvacano'nunāsikaḥ 1.1.8, ve. 79
tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarṇam 1.1.9, ve. 80-83
nājjala 1.1.10, ve. 84
āhnika 5 *Īdūddeddvivacanaṁ pragṛhyam*
1.1.11, ve. 85-86
adaso māt 1.1.12, ve. 87
Śe 1.1.13, ve. 88
nipāta ekājanāṅ 1.1.14, ve. 89
ot 1.1.15, ve. 90
uñaḥ, uṁ 1.1.17,18, ve.91
Īdūtau ca saptamyarthe 1.1.19, ve. 92-93
Dādha ghvadāp 1.1.20, ve. 94-96
Ādyantavanta ekasmin 1.1.21, ve. 97-99
taraptamapau ghaḥ 1.1.22, ve. 100
*bahugaṇavatuḍati saṁkhyā*1.1.23, ve. 101
Ṣṇāntāṣaṭ 1.1.24, ve. 102
*ṣati ca, ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*1.1.25, 26 ve.103
āhnika 6 *Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* 1.1.26, ve. 104-105
vibhāṣādiksamāse bahuvrīhau 1.1.27 (no commentary)

Metres

Śrī Pāṭhaka is basically a grammarian, but well acquainted with the metres for composing the verses. In his text he has not followed any particular metre and some of his compositions are metreless too, but he is fond of using śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. The details of the metres used in the text is as follows.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita is in 77 out of total 105 verses,
Metre sragdharā in 8 (verse nos. 5, 6, 36, 42, 76, 80, 81 &98),
Āryā in 9 (verse nos. 16,17,18, 25,51,52,53,54 &63),
Anuṣṭup in 9 (verse nos. 29, 44, 48, 49, 50, 57, 58, 92 & 93)
Two sentences are having no metrical composition.

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Composing the commentary in verse-form

It is definitely unconventional to write a commentary on grammar in verse-form, and that too on the Mbh regarding which its commentator Kaiyaṭa says, 'the Mbh is like an ocean and I am too dull to cross it, but it is the bridge-like commentary of hari (i.e. Bhartṛhari) that will help me to pass through.' Śrī Pāṭhaka is also having the same view regarding the Mbh and here he adds other two commentaries of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa with that of Bhartṛhari which are helpful to follow the Mbh. But the author concentrates himself only on the views of the Mbh and tries to incorporate those in few words with a poetic aptitude and metrical beauty. for example, after the discussion on the various possibilities the Mbh states the definition of 'śabda' in the following way :

— In that case, what is the word?

— That by which, when it is pronounced, there is a representation of the objects possessing a dewlap, a tail, a hump, hooves and horns, is the word (śabda).

"*kastarhi śabdaḥ? yenoccāritena sāsnāliṅgūlakakudakhuraviṣāṇinām sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ*"(Mbh I āhnika)

CF. "*evaṁ cettarhi śabdaḥ ka iti nu bhagavan brūhi jānīhi dhīmān syād yenoccāritenāśutaramiha janeṣvīdḥśārthapratītiḥ*।" (Mbhdar 6)

And deliberating another definition of śabda the Mbh says: "or [śabda is here the word] of well-known meaning in the world the sound is called "śabdaḥ". for example, one says to somebody who produces a sound: "make śabda, do not make śabda, this boy is a maker of śabda". Therefore the sound ["gauḥ"] is the śabda "word".

"*athavāpratītapadārthako loke dhvaniḥ śabda ityucyate. tad yathā--śabdaṁ kuru, mā śabdaṁ kārṣīḥ, śabdakṛyaṁ māṇavakaṁ, iti dhvanim kurvannevamucyate*" (Mbh I āhnika)

Cf. *yad vākurvanviviktadhvanimitarajanaiḥ procyate śabdakārītyasmālloka-pravādād dhvaniriha kathitaḥ śabda ityāhurāryāḥ* ।। (Mbhdar 6)

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In many places śrī pāṭhaka tries to retain the wordings of the Mbh even if he is adopting a different metre other than his favourite *Śārdūlavīkrīḍita*:

> *saptadvīpāvasumatī trayo lokāḥ savistarāste'pi,*
> *catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyābahudhāca te bhinnāḥ.* (Mbhdar16)

Cf. "saptadvīpāvasumatī, trayo lokāḥ, catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyābahudhābhinnāḥ" (Mbh i āhnika)

sometimes the author quotes the stanza of the Mbh:

> *daśadāḍimāni phalapūpāḥ kuṇḍamajājinaṁ palalapiṇḍaḥ,*
> *ardhorukametat kumāryāḥ sphaiyakṛtasya pita pratiśīnaḥ.* (Mbhdar 63)

Cf. the same stanza in the Mbh on vṛddhirādaic (1.1.1)

But the commentary is intended to express the views of the Mbh in a summarised manner. It can very well observed in the verse on aiuṇ (māheśvarasūtra 1) which is as follows.

> *ākāragrahaṇārthamatra vivṛtā varṇopadeśāstato,*
> *dhātvādiṣvapi caivameva tu savarṇena grahārthaṁ kuru.*
> *syād dīrghaplutayośca saṁvṛtanivṛttyarthaṁ tathoccārayan,*
> *yadyapyasti na gauravaṁ śṛṇu tathāpyastvagṛhīteṣu tat.* (Mbhdar 31)

Here the first stanza comprises the meaning of '*akārasya vivṛtopadeśa ākāragrahaṇārthaḥ (vārt.)*' and the Mbh on it.

The second stanza explains the vārttika '*tasya vivṛtopadeśādanyatrāpi vivṛtopadeśaḥ savarṇagrahaṇārthaḥ* and the Mbh on it.

The third one is pregnant with the views of the vārttika '*dīrghaplutavacane ca saṁvṛtanivṛttyarthaḥ*' and the Mbh on it, and the last stanza includes this series of discussion in the Mbh :

"*sa eṣa sarva evamartho yatnaḥ--yānyetāni prātipadikānyagrahaṇāni teṣāmetenābhyupāyenopadeśaścodyate, tad guru bhavati. tasmād vaktavyam—'dhātvādibhyaśca vivṛtaḥ' iti*" (aiuṇ 1.1.1)

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Two types of presentation

The first āhnika of the Mbh is the introductory one and the rest āhnikas are explanatory of the sūtras as well as vārttikas. while composing the commentary in poetry Śrī Pāṭhaka is fully aware of this difference. therefore, we can find two types of presentation in the Mbhdar : (i) philosophical, and (ii) textual. the first one is very much available while explaining the definition of word[6], purposes of the teachings of the words[7], method of teaching[8], eternity of words[9], usàge and theory[10], knowledge or use of the word(beneficial)[11], meaning of the word Vyākaraṇa[12] and purpose of teaching phonemes[13] in first āhnika and in some places in other āhnikas, e.g. the meaning of akṣara.

The second type, i.e. textual begins with *aiuṇ* (1st *Māheśvarasūtra*) with the discussion on an open enunciation of 'A' in akṣarasamāmnāya[15]. And it is evident in almost all the rules.

While narrating the philosophical expositions Śrī Pāṭhaka is a little bit elaborative, but during the textual narration he has too much minimized the views and has left a lot of explanations, approaches and examples shown therein. for example, he has composed only two verses for *aiuṇ* (1st *Māheśvarasūtra*), where as there are 11 vārttikas and a good number of arguments and their counter parts in the Mbh.'

Challenges before the author

1. The composition of poetry, in general, needs a descriptive approach to absorb all the theories and the views to be assimilated. But, as we have seen in many citations stated above, the author is often summarising the views of the Mbh. This is one of the major challenges he might have faced. For example, in the commentary of *mukhanāsikāvacano'nunāsikaḥ* (1.1.8) he mentions two theories prāsādavāsinyāya (maxim of storey-occupant) and anyonyāśraya (case of mutual defence) they are told here by their name only[16] on the issues of the validity of the words 'mukha' and 'nāsikā' in the rule which is not sufficient to clarify their relevance and utility in the present context.

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2. The author is mentioning the sūtras, such as *aiuṇ*, *vṛddhirādaic* etc. as the headings. Although the name of Vararuci[17] takes place in the commentary, but there is no specific mention of the vārttikas, paribhāṣās, dhātus etc. which are very well found in the prose-form of the commentaries. It is because the author has a limitation for the quotation inside a verse, i.e. śloka.

3. A punctuation helps an easy narration. Lack of punctuation, i.e. not using the signs of quotation, comma etc. Also causes some bindings for the author of poetry to be confined to the composition of verses only and not to be able to narrate a thing freely.

Challenges before the editing the manuscript

As we know, it is the only copy of the manuscript. There are some common features which can draw the character of scribing the manuscript. They are as follows.

1. All the four stanzas of all the verses are in a running style, and , therefore, need to be separated according to the metre used therein.

2. The cursive writing in devanāgarī is in a very beautiful and straight manner providing six lines only in one page.

3. There are two types of numbering the verses: (i) General, which begins with no.1 and ends with 104 (acc. to the author, but edited as no.105), and (ii) āhnika-wise, which ends in each āhnika, e.g. there are 30 verses in the 1st āhnika and, therefore, 2nd āhnika it begins with the no. 31.1 and ends in no. 59. 29, which means that the second āhnika has 29 verses and its general no. is 59 and 3rd āhnika begins with the no. 60. 1, and so on. numbers of the verses are mostly in order with an exception in the verses 80-82.

4. Anusvāra has been invariably used in place of each nasal sound, e.g. lāṁgūla in place of lāṅgūla (Mbhdar 5), deśāṁntare in place of deśāntare (Mbhdar 15), baṁdha in place of bandha(Mbhdar 25) and so on.

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And it is always anusvāra in place of 'm' at the end, e.g. sevyatāṁ (Mbhdar 3), sthitaṁ (Mbhdar 67).

This use of anusvāra in place of all nasal sounds is supposedly for the easy scribing.

5. Since it is the only manuscript it is difficult to find a critical edition of the manuscripts in the cases of ambiguities, e.g.

   a. *kartavyo ṛkāragrahaḥ*(Mbhdar 40). if it is edited as kartavya (acc. to the rule of sandhi) then we loose the metre.

   b. *gotva kiṁ* (Mbhdar 5). if edited as gotvaṁ then it breaks the metre.

   c. *cādiha ūṣa* (Mbhdar 15). if edited as cādihoṣa the metre is lost.

2. The commentary is, as we have seen, so abridged in its form that it is not easy to find out the corresponding part of the Mbh.

Stages of editing

1. Total manuscript has been noted from its micro-film and has been tallied with the original one too.

2. All nasal sounds have been entertained according to the grammatical principles with the real textual recensions in the foot note with a mark "T".

3. A correct recension has been tried in case of ambiguity.

4. The corresponding Mbh portions have been noted in the footnotes with their reference nos. according to the text.

5. According to the future planning the translation (in english) is intended to be added according to the main text.

Conclusion

Mahābhāṣyādarśa is positively unique in its form and nature of presentation. It does glorify the wisdom of the learned author Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Pāṭhaka who has the deep-rooted knowledge of the Mbh and its commentaries and an ability to compose the grammatical theories, expositions and examples in metres of Sanskrit. Consequently, it is a rare commentary on the Mbh

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embodied in poetic excellence. Although this work could not be completed, it is, without any doubt, a precious treasure hidden so far in Sanskrit in general and in the system of Pāṇinian system of grammar in particular. I must thank to the authority of the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris for its careful preservation.

Notes

1. *Mahābhāṣyādarśa* (Mbhdar) 1,
   smāraṁ smāramahardivaṁ gurukulābhystāmunīnāṁ giraḥ
2. Mbhdar 3 *bhāṣyābdhau haribaddhasetusugame nyastaḥ pradīpe punaḥ śrīmatkaiyaṭas tūriṇākṛtataduddyote'pi nāgeśataḥ*
   antargūḍhasuyuktiratnanikaravrātān vicetuṁ mayā
   sopānaṁ racitaṁ supadmamaṇibhiḥ sadbhiściraṁ sevyatām ||
3. Mbhdar1
   Śrīmanmahābhāṣyagārthānāmākalanāya
   padyaracanā- darśaṁ sudhīrlakṣmaṇaḥ
4. Kaiyaṭa, Pradīpa, Introduction
   bhāṣyābdhiḥ kvātigambhīraṁ kvāhaṁ mandamatistataḥ.....
   tathāpi haribaddhena sāreṇa granthasetunā.
   kramamāṇaḥ śanaiḥ pāraṁ tasya prāpto'smi paṅguvat ..
5. Cf. Mbhdar 3

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5

अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध प्रक्षेप एवं संक्षेप की पहचान[1]

वसन्तकुमार म. भट्ट

भूमिका – अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल की अभी तक करीब पाँच-छह वाचनायें प्रकाशित हुई है। जैसे कि (क) बृहत्पाठ-परम्पराकोसुरक्षितरखनेवाली१. बंगाली (कांजीलाल, १९८०), २. मैथिली, (झा, १९५७) ३. उत्कलीय, (नवकिशोरकर, १९६०) तथा (ख) लघुपाठपरम्परा में संचरित हुई ४. देवनागरी, (राघवभट्ट, २००६) एवं ५. दाक्षिणात्य (काटयवेम, १९८२) वाचनायें। तथा नातिलघु या नातिबृहत् हो ऐसा पाठ जिसमें संचरित हुआ है वह ६. काश्मीरी वाचना (बेलवालकर, १९९५) है। लेकिन उनमें से कोई भी वाचना का पाठ सर्वसम्मत नहीं हो पाया है, या उनमें से किसी एक वाचना के पाठ को सर्वथा मौलिक हम नहीं मान सकते हैं। तुलनात्मक परीक्षण से तो यही दिखता है कि ये सभी वाचनायें विभिन्न प्रान्तों में प्रचलित रंगावृत्तियाँ ही हो सकती है। किसी भी नाट्यकृति की जब रचना होती है तब वह एक-कर्तृक रचना ही होती है, किन्तु मंचन के दौरान अलग अलग सूत्रधार अपनी अपनी रुचि एवं आवश्यकता के अनुसार, नाट्यकार के द्वारा लिखे गये मौलिक पाठ में कुछ शब्दों का परिवर्तन, दृश्य का स्थलान्तरण, तथा गेयभाग (श्लोकों) एवं गद्य संवादों में प्रक्षेप एवं संक्षेपादि की प्रक्रिया करते रहे हैं। और यह बात अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल जैसी आदिकाल से लोकप्रिय बनी नाट्यकृति के लिये तो सर्वथा सत्य है।।

नाट्यकृति के पाठ में जहाँ वर्णनात्मक भाग होते हैं उसकी प्रस्तुति प्रायः श्लोकों में हुआ करती है। नाट्य के प्रयोग काल में जब रङ्गभूमि की सज्ञा (आहार्य) में यदि कुछ मर्यादायें खटकती हैं तब ऐसे वर्णनों का उपयोग किया जाता है। अथवा नायक या नायिका के द्वारा मार्ग-संचरण एवं उनकी गति का निरूपण करना हो, या युद्धादि का माहोल उपस्थित करना हो तब भी वर्णनों का सहारा लिया जाता है। और कवि लोग उसके लिये प्रायः श्लोकात्मक वाचिक का प्रणयन करते हैं। महाकवि ने अपने तीनों नाटकों में ऐसे अनेक वर्णनात्मक श्लोक लिखे हैं। किन्तु अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में जहाँ पर भी किसी दृश्य या परिस्थिति का वर्णन लम्बा है वहाँ एक से अधिक श्लोकों का प्रणयन भी किया गया है[2]। तथा जहाँ ऐसे दो दो श्लोकों को प्रस्तुत किये हैं वहाँ इन दोनों को 'अपि च' अव्यय से बांधे भी हैं। लेकिन ऐसे स्थानों पर जो दो दो श्लोक मिलते हैं वह विभिन्न वाचनाओं में कम-ज्यादा संख्या में उपलब्ध होते हैं। अतः यह मानना

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होगा की कालिदास के द्वारा लिखे गये ऐसे वर्णनात्मक श्लोकों के मूल पाठ में, अनेक अज्ञात सूत्रधारों ने मंचन के दौरान आवश्यकता एवं वैयक्तिक रुचि के अनुसार संक्षेप एवं प्रक्षेप का विवादास्पद कार्य किया है।। इस लिये विभिन्न वाचनाओं में मिलनेवाले इन श्लोकों में से कौन सा श्लोक मौलिक है और कौन सो प्रक्षिप्त श्लोक है, तथा कौन सी वाचना में उस श्लोक को संक्षिप्तीकरण के आशय से हटाया गया होगा- इन सब की पाठालोचना करनी होगी। क्योंकि पाठालोचना किये बिना पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित हुए किसी भी पाठ को मौलिक मान कर यदि साहित्यालोचना की जायेगी तो वह अस्थायि/अनिश्चित पडाव पर हमें ले जायेगी। हमारा स्पष्ट मानना है कि नाट्यकृति की साहित्यिक आलोचना करने से पहले उस कृति के पाठ की आलोचना करनी अनिवार्य है।।

नाटक जैसे अभिनेय काव्य के परम्परागत पाठ में जहाँ पर भी विवादाग्रस्त एवं द्विधाजनक पाठ मिलते हैं, वहाँ मूलगामी पाठ को ढूँढने के लिये कुछ मानदण्ड सर्वसम्मत हो सकतें हैं:- जैसे कि, १. नाट्यप्रयोग में समय की पा-बन्धी होने से, जहाँ पर भी वर्णनात्मक श्लोक मिलता है वहाँ पर यह देखा जाना चाहिये कि इस वर्णन की प्रासङ्गिकता है या नहीं। तथा ऐसे वर्णनों में दीर्धसूत्रिता एवं पुनरुक्ति है या नहीं? क्योंकि नाटक में इन सब का अभाव होना बहुत जरूरी है। अतः पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित हुए नाट्यकृति के पाठ में जहाँ पर भी पुनरुक्ति आती है या प्रासंगिकता का अभाव दिखता है वह स्थान प्रक्षेपयुक्त हो सकता है। एवमेव, २. नाट्यकृति के मंचन दौरान कोई नट की स्मृति-मर्यादा से विवश हो कर सूत्रधारों ने कदाचित् ऐसे वर्णनात्मक अंशों में कुछ कटौती भी की होगी। अर्थात् प्रयोगावस्था में नाट्यकृति के मूल पाठ में संक्षिप्तीकरण के लिये भी कुछ कारण सदैव सक्रिय होते हैं। अतः यह बात भी ध्यान में रखी जानी चाहिये कि किसी एक वाचना की पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित हुए कृति के पाठ में जहाँ पर भी विचार-सातत्य टूटता है, और दूसरी वाचना के पाठ में विचारप्रवाह अखण्ड चलता है तो पहलेवाली वाचना में अवश्य संक्षेप किया गया होगा यह मानना होगा।

अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में ऐसे छह वर्णनात्मक स्थान हैं, जहाँ पर दो दो श्लोकों को समुच्चयार्थक 'अपि च' अव्यय से सम्बद्ध किया गया है।[३] अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल की प्रकाशित पाँच या छह वाचनाओं का तुलनात्मक अभ्यास करने से मालुम होता है कि इन वर्णनप्रधान श्लोकों की ग्राह्याग्राह्यता सर्वत्र एकसमान नहीं है। इसलिये सब से पहले, अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में प्रयुक्त इस समुच्चयार्थक 'अपि च' के प्रयोग का स्वारस्य गवेषणीय बनता है। उदाहरण के रूप में भ्रमरबाधा प्रसंग को हम लेते हैं:- यहाँ पर बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना में 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध किये गये दो श्लोक हैं। :-

राजा - (सस्पृहम्) यतो यतः षट्चरणोऽभिवर्तते, ततस्ततः प्रेरितवामलोचना।
विवर्तितभ्रूरियमद्य शिक्षते भयादकामापि हि दृष्टिविभ्रमम्।। १ - २२।।

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'अपि च' - (सासूयमिव)

चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीं रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः।
करं व्याधुन्वत्याः पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर, हतास्त्वं खलु कृती।। १ - २३।।

इन शब्दों से वर्णित भ्रमरबाधा प्रसंग में, पहले (२२) श्लोक में भ्रमर से संत्रस्त हो रही शकुन्तला का चित्र खिंचा गया है।[३] तत्पश्चात् दूसरे (२३) श्लोक में शकुन्तला के मुखारविन्द पर घुम रहे ईर्ष्याजनक भ्रमर का चित्र खिंचा गया है[४]। यहाँ एक ही दृश्य की द्विपार्श्वी रमणीयता को दो अलग अलग श्लोक में वर्णित करने की आवश्यकता है। अतः कालिदास ने यहाँ समुच्चयार्थक 'अपि च' का प्रयोग करके उन दोनों को परस्पर बांधा है। यहाँ दोनों श्लोकों में दृष्टिकोणों का ही भेद होने से उसमें पुनरुक्ति का कोई अवकाश ही नहीं है। अतः यह मूलगामी पाठ हो सकता है, जो बंगाली, मैथिली एवं उत्कलीय वाचना में संचरित होता रहा है। लेकिन समय-मर्यादा की बाधा से पीडित सूत्रधारों ने उन दोनों में से पहलेवाले श्लोक को हटा दिया है। परिणामतः देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना की पाठपरम्परा ने केवल चलापाङ्गां० वाला श्लोक ही सुरक्षित रखा है।।

प्रथमाङ्क का एक दूसरा वर्णन भी समीक्षणीय है। मृगयाविहारी राजा दुष्यन्त रथारूढ होके रङ्गभूमि पर प्रवेश करता है। वैखानस के कहने से वह कण्वमुनि के आश्रम की ओर आगे बढ रहा है। तपोवन का परिसर अब निकट में ही है ऐसा आकलन करता हुआ राजा दो श्लोकों का गान करता है, और ये दोनों श्लोक भी 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध किये गये है:-

राजा-किं न पश्यसि। इह हि-

नीवाराः शुककोटरार्भकमुखभ्रष्टास्तरुणामधः
प्रस्निग्धाः क्वचिदिङ्गुदीफलभिदः सूच्यन्त एवोपलाः।
विश्वासोपगमादभिन्नगतयः शब्दं सहन्ते मृगा-
स्तोयाधारपथाश्च वल्कलशिखानिष्यन्दरेखाङ्किताः।। १ - १३।।

'अपि च'

कुल्याम्भोभिः पवनचपलैः शाखिनो धौतमूला
भिन्नो रागः किसलयरुचामाज्यधूमोद्गमेन।
एते चार्वागुपवनभुवि च्छिन्नदर्भाङ्कुरायां
नष्टाशङ्का हरिणशिशवो मन्दमन्दं चरन्ति।। १ - १४।।

सुतः- सर्वमुपपन्नम्

राजा यहाँ आश्रम के समीप की ओर आगे बढ रहा है, मार्ग में जिन जिन चीजों को देख रहा है उसका पहले श्लोक में वर्णन करता है। राजा की दृष्टि जमीन की ओर कुछ निम्न भागों

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पर जा रही है। जिसमें वह वृक्षों के नीचे गीरे नीवार के बीजकणों, चिकने पत्थर, और गीले वल्कल-वस्त्रों से टपकते हुए जलबिन्दुओं को देख रहा है। दूसरे श्लोक में उसकी दृष्टि कुछ ऊर्ध्व भाग पर भी जा रही है, जिसमें वह यज्ञवेदी से ऊठे धूम के कारण किसलय का राग बदल गया है, और दर्भघास कटा हुआ है - ऐसा देख रहा है। यहाँ यदि कोई ऐसा कहे कि दोनों श्लोकों में मृग का जो उल्लेख है, उसमें पुनरुक्ति है। तो यह पुनर्विचारणीय है। क्योंकि पहले श्लोक में वयस्क मृगों का निर्देश है, और दूसरे श्लोक में मृगशिशुओं का निरूपण है। इस तरह पुनरुक्तिदोष नहीं आता है। एवं जंगल से निकल कर आश्रम के उपवन तक जाने में कुछ काल-क्षय की भी अपेक्षा है। अतः दोनों श्लोकों का व्याप सम्भावित है, अपेक्षित भी। अर्थात् दोनों श्लोकों में अलग अलग चित्र भी खिंचा गया है और यहाँ वर्णन की प्रासङ्गिकता भी है। अतः यहाँ 'अपि च' से बांधे गये दोनों की मौलिकता सरलता से नकारी नहीं जायेगी। फिर भी देवनागरी तथा दाक्षिणात्य वाचना के अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल में, मंचन के लिये नट की स्मृति-मर्यादा के कारण या समय की मर्यादा को लेकर इन दोनों श्लोकों में से दूसरे श्लोक को हटाया गया होगा। इस सन्दर्भ में आचार्य शरद रंजन राय ने कहा है कि १/१४ श्लोक के उत्तरार्द्ध में जो कहा गया है वह १/१३ के तृतीय पाद में भी कहा गया है। इस पुनरुक्ति के कारण दूसरा श्लोक प्रक्षिप्त होगा। और नीवाराः शुकगर्भ० वाला पहेला श्लोक ९वीं शती में आनन्दवर्द्धन ने उद्धृत किया है, अतः वह मौलिक होगा।

२-४, देवनागरी वाचनावाले प्रथमाङ्क में तीसरा उदाहरण भी मिलता है, जिसमें भी 'अपि च' से दो श्लोकों को जोडा गया है:-

(नेपथ्ये)

भो भोस्तपस्विनः ! सन्निहितास्तपोवनसत्त्वरक्षायै भवत। प्रत्यासन्नः किल मृगयाविहारी पार्थिवो दुष्यन्तः।

> तुरगखुरहतस्तथा हि रेणुर्विटपविषक्तजलार्द्रवल्कलेषु।
> पतति परिणतारुणप्रकाशः शलभसमूह इवाश्रमद्रुमेषु।। १ - २८।।

'अपि च' -

> तीव्राघातप्रतिहततरुः स्कन्धलग्नैकदन्तः,
> पादाकृष्टव्रततिवलयासङ्गसञ्जातपाशः।
> मूर्तो विघ्नस्तपस इव नो भिन्नसारङ्गयूथो,
> धर्मारण्यं प्रविशति गजः स्यन्दनालोकभीतः।। १ - २९।।
> (सर्वाः कर्णं दत्त्वा किंचिदिव संभ्रान्ताः)

राजा - (आत्मगतम्) अहो धिक्। पौरा अस्मदन्वेषिणस्तपोवनमुपरुन्धन्ति। भवतु, प्रतिगमिष्यामस्तावत्।

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यहाँ (देवनागरी वाचनानुसारी पाठ में) प्रथम श्लोक में अश्व की खुर से ऊठी रेणु का चित्र प्रस्तुत करने के साथ साथ तुरंत ही, 'अपि च' से जोडे गये दूसरे श्लोक में राजा के रथ को देख कर भडक ऊठे गज का चित्र रखा गया है। यानि दो विभिन्न चित्रों के लिये 'अपि च' से बांधे गये दो श्लोकों का प्रस्ताव द्विपार्श्वी दृश्य की परिस्थिति को अच्छी तरह से निरूपित कर रहा है। लेकिन इन दोनों श्लोकों के कथयितव्य के अनुसन्धान में राजा की जो उक्ति है वह सर्वथा सुसंगत नहीं लगती है। क्योंकि यहाँ दो श्लोकों से, राजा के साथ मृगया के लिये निकले पुरवासियों तपोवन को परेशान कर रहे हैं, इतना ही नहीं कहा गया है। दूसरे श्लोक में जो गज धर्मारण्य में प्रवेश कर रहा है वह तो राजा के रथ को देख कर भडक ऊठा है उसकी ओर भी ध्यान आकृष्ट किया गया है। राजा ने क्या इनकी ओर ध्यान ही नहीं दिया कि धर्मारण्य में जो विह्वलता पैदा हुई है उसमें वह स्वयं जिम्मेवार बन गया है ? इस तरह, दो श्लोकों में निरूपित परिस्थिति के अनुसन्धान में राजा की उक्ति किसी भी तरह से सुसंगत नहीं है। अब इसी सन्दर्भ का जो पाठ बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचनाओं में संचरित हुआ है उसे देखना आवश्यक है:-

(नेपथ्ये)

भो भोस्तपस्विनः! तपोवनसन्निहितसत्त्वरक्षणाय सज्जीभवन्तु भवन्तः। प्रत्यासन्नः किल मृगयाविहारी पार्थिवो दुःष्यन्तः।

तुरगखुरहतस्तथा हि रेणुर्विटपनिषक्तजलार्द्रवल्कलेषु।
पतति परिणतारुणप्रकाशः शलभसमूह इवाश्रमद्रुमेषु।। १-३१।।

राजा- (स्वगतम्) अहो धिक्। कथं मदन्वेषिणः सैनिकास्तपोवनमभिरुन्धन्ति।

(पुनर्नेपथ्ये)

भो भोस्तपस्विनः। पर्याकुलीकुर्वन् वृद्धस्त्रीकुमारकान् एष प्राप्तः -

तीव्राघातादभिमुखतरुस्कन्धलग्नैकदन्तः,
प्रौढाकृष्टव्रततिवलयासज्जनाज्ञातपाशः।
मूर्तो विघ्नस्तपस इव नो भिन्नसारङ्गयूथो,
धर्मारण्यं विरुजति गजः स्यन्दनालोकभीतः।। १ - ३२।।

(सर्वाः श्रुत्वा संभ्रमम् उपतिष्ठन्ति)

राजा- अहो धिक्। कथमपराद्धस्तपस्विनामस्मि। भवतु, तावत्। प्रतिगच्छामि।

यहाँ दोनों का तुलनात्मक अभ्यास करने से मालुम होता है कि प्रथम श्लोक के कथनानुसार राजा को ढूँढते हुए पीछे से आ रहे सैनिकों के कारण तपोवन में अवरोध पैदा हो रहा है और तपोवन के पशुओं का जीवन खतरे में है क्योंकि मृगयाविहारी राजा का प्रवेश हो रहा है ऐसा कहा जाता है। दूसरे श्लोक में कहा जाता है कि राजा के रथ को देख कर जंगल का हाथी भडक ऊठा है, और उस हाथी के कारण आश्रम के वृद्धजन, स्त्रीजन एवं कुमार पर्याकुल हो

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गये है। यहाँ बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना के पाठ में उपर्युक्त दो श्लोकों को 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध नहीं किये गये हैं। परन्तु इन दोनों के मध्य में 'पुनर्नेपथ्यें' करके जो उक्ति रखी है, वही दोनों श्लोकों के वर्णन को संगति प्रदान करता है। लेकिन देवनागरी तथा दाक्षिणात्य वाचना के पाठ में संक्षेप करने के आशय से दोनों श्लोकों के बीच से गद्यवाक्यों को हटा दिये हैं और इन दोनों को 'अपि च' से बांध दिये हैं। यहाँ दो विभिन्न चित्रों का वर्णन करनेवाले श्लोकों को बांधने के लिये 'अपि च' का विनियोग समुचित होते हुए भी बीचवाले वाक्यों कि (देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना के पाठ में) अनुपस्थिति राजा की उक्ति में सूक्ष्म संवेदनशीलता का अभाव प्रकट करती है। किन्तु बंगाली एवं मैथिली पाठ में राजा की उक्ति में प्रतिपल बढती रहती संवेदनशीलता उभर कर सामने आती है। यहाँ नाटकीय संवादों की प्रवाहिता भी स्वाभाविक और सुसंगत प्रतीत होती है। अतः ये दोनों श्लोकों की मौलिकता सिद्ध होते हुए भी कहना होगा कि देवनागरी के पाठ में संक्षिप्तीकरण के आशय से जो गद्यवाक्य हटाये गये है उससे राजा की उक्ति में पूर्वापर सन्दर्भ का औचित्य खण्डित होता है।।

बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना के तीसरे अङ्क में भी एक स्थान है जहाँ पर 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध दो-तीन श्लोकों की माला मिलती है:-

'राजा - (सचिन्तं निःश्वस्य) भगवन् मन्मथ। कुतस्ते कुसुमायुधस्य सततस्तैक्ष्ण्यमेतत्। (स्मृत्वा) आं ज्ञातम् -

> अद्यापि नूनं हरकोपवह्निस्त्वयि ज्वलत्यौर्व इवाम्बुराशौ।
> त्वमन्यथा मन्मथ मद्विधानां भस्मावशेषः कथमेवमुष्णः।। ३ - ३।।

'अपि च' - त्वया चन्द्रमसा च विश्वसनीयाभ्यामभिसन्धीयते कामिसार्थः। कुतः -

> तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीतरश्मित्वमिन्दोर्द्वयमिदमयथार्थं दृश्यते मद्विधेषु।
> विसृजति हिमगर्भैरग्निमिन्दुर्मयूखैस्त्वमपि कुसुमबाणान् वज्रसारीकरोषि।। ३ - ४।।

अथवा -

> अनिशमपि मकरकेतुर्मनसो रुजमावहन्नभिमतो मे।
> यदि मदिरायतनयनां तामधिकृत्य प्रहरतीति।। ३ - ५।।

तृतीय अंक में प्रेमविवश राजा शकुन्तला को ढूँढता हुआ लतावलय की ओर आगे बढ रहा है। और मार्ग में चलते कामदेव को उलाहना दे रहा है। लेकिन यहाँ ३/३ श्लोक में हरकोपवह्नि से भस्मावशेष बने मन्मथ का जो उल्लेख है, वही उल्लेख (बंगाली वाचना के) ३/३४ श्लोक में पुनरुक्त होता है। अतः इन दोनों में से कोई एक निश्चित रूप से प्रक्षिप्त हो सकता है। बंगाली वाचना के तृतीयाङ्क का पाठ अपेक्षाकृत बहुत लम्बा है, जिस में दुष्यन्त के द्वारा शकुन्तला के हाथ में एक मृणालवलय पहनाने का प्रसंग आकारित होता है। इस रमणीय क्षण

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पर दुष्यन्त ने वहाँ पर हरकोपाग्निदग्ध कामतरु का उल्लेख किया है[६]। यहाँ बंगाली वाचना के मृणालवलय प्रसंग को जब संक्षिप्तीकरण के आशय से देवनागरी वाचनावालों ने हटा दिया होगा तब, तदन्तर्गत श्लोक ३/३४ में निर्दिष्ट हरकोपाग्निदग्ध कामदेव का उल्लेख भी कट गया होगा। लेकिन कामदेव का इस तरह का निर्देश तो कुमारसम्भव के कामदेव-प्रसंग को याद दिलानेवाला होने से संरक्षणीय भी था। इसलिये किसी अज्ञात सूत्रधार ने उपर्युक्त ३/३ श्लोक का नवीन प्रणयन करके, उसे बंगाली वाचना में ३/४ के उपर प्रक्षिप्त कर दिया होगा। संक्षिप्त देवनागरी वाले शाकुन्तल में नवीन प्रणयन के रूप में दाखिल हुआ ३/३ श्लोक कालान्तर में बंगाली पाण्डुलिपियों में भी प्रविष्ट किया होगा। जिसके कारण बंगाली पाठ में 'हरकोपवह्नि' जैसी अभिव्यक्ति पुनरुक्त लगती है। और देवनागरी वाचना की कतिपय पाण्डुलिपियों में 'अथवा' से सम्बद्ध ३/५ श्लोक को हटाया गया है, किन्तु उपर्युक्त ३/३ श्लोक स्वीकारा गया है। तथा देवनागरी वाचना की कुछ अन्य पाण्डुलिपियों में ३/३ एवं ३/५ दोनों को हटाया गया है, और संक्षिप्तीकरण को सर्वथा साकार किया गया है।।

प्रासंगिक रूप से यह बताना भी आवश्यक है कि यहाँ 'अथवा' से सम्बद्ध ३/४ एवं ३/५ श्लोकों में जो विचार प्रस्तुत हो रहा है वह पक्षान्तर वाचक 'अथवा' अव्यय से सम्बद्ध करना अनिवार्य है। अतः उन दोनों की मौलिकता के विषय में हम शङ्का नहीं ऊठा सकते है। लेकिन 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध ३/३ एवं ३/४ में से ३/३ वाला पहला श्लोक तो निश्चित रूप से (पुनरुक्ति दोष से ग्रस्त होने के कारण) प्रक्षिप्त ही होगा। (ऐसा ही विचार शरद रंजन राय ने भी व्यक्त किया है[७]।) चतुर्थाङ्क में 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध चार श्लोकों की शृङ्खला मिलती है। जिसमें पहले कण्वमुनि का एक शिष्य रङ्गभूमि पर आता है। सोमतीर्थ की यात्रा से अगले दिन ही वापस लौटे हुए कण्वमुनि ने उसे प्रभात की वेला का अन्दाजा लगाने के लिये भेजा है[८]। वह आश्रम के प्राङ्गण में खडा रह कर परिसर का अवलोकन करता हुआ निम्नोक्त चार श्लोकों का गान करता है:-

> यात्येकताऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीनामाविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरःसर एकतोऽर्कः।
> तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां, लोको नियम्यत इवैष दशान्तरेषु[९]।। ४ - २।।

'अपि च' -

> अन्तर्हिते शशिनि सैव कुमुद्वती मे दृष्टिं न नन्दयति संस्मरणीयशोभा।
> इष्टप्रवासजनितान्यबलाजनेन दुःखानि नूनमतिमात्रदुरुद्वहानि[१०]।। ४ - ३।।

'अपि च' -

> कर्कन्धूनामुपरि तुहिनं रञ्जयत्यग्रसन्ध्या दार्भं मुञ्चत्युटजपटलं वीतनिद्रो मयूरः।
> वेदिप्रान्तात् खुरविलिखितादुत्थितश्चैष सद्यः,
> पश्चादुच्चैर्भवति हरिणः स्वाङ्गमायच्छमानः।। ४-४।।[११]

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'अपि च' -

पादन्यासं क्षितिधरगुरोर्मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा सुमेरोः
क्रान्तं येन क्षयिततमसा मध्यमं धाम विष्णोः।
सोच्यं चन्द्रः पतति गगनादल्पशेषैर्मयूखैर्,
अत्यारूढिर्भवति महतामप्यपभ्रंशनिष्ठा[१२]।। ४ - ५।। (द्विवेदी -२००८)

बंगाली वाचना में उपर्युक्त चारों श्लोकों का स्वीकार हुआ है। और यही वाचना प्राचीनतम (९ वीं ? से १२ वीं शती) काल से प्रचलन में थी[१३] ऐसा डॉ. दिलीपकुमार कांजीलाल ने काव्यशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों के उद्धरणों से सिद्ध किया है। अतः इस वाचना को हम अधिक श्रद्धेय मान सकते है। लेकिन आचार्य शरदरञ्जन राय ने याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते० इन दो श्लोकों को प्रक्षिप्त माने है। उनका कहना है कि पूर्वार्ध में जो वर्णन है वह प्राभातिक समय का आकलन करने के लिये उपयुक्त नहीं है। यदि सूर्य आविष्कृत हो ही गया है तो फिर 'होमवेला हो गई है, चलो गुरु को उसका निवेदन किया जाय ऐसा कहना सुसंगत नहीं है। यदि इसी श्लोक में 'आविष्कृतारुण' ऐसे सामासिक शब्द को पाठान्तर के रूप में लिया जाय तो व्यसनोदय के यौगपद्य का कथन दुषित[१४] होता है। आचार्य शरदरञ्जन राय ने इस श्लोक में प्रक्रमभङ्ग दोष भी देखा है। इतने दोषों से भरे श्लोक का रचयिता कालिदास नहीं हो सकते, अतः उसको प्रक्षिप्त मानना ही उचित होगा।। उसी तरह से अन्तर्हिते० श्लोक को भी उन्होंने प्रक्षिप्त माना है। वे कहते है कि यह दूसरा श्लोक भी प्रभात-वर्णन के लिये योग्य नहीं है। क्योंकि 'चन्द्रः अस्तं याति' कहने के बाद, 'अन्तर्हिते' होने की अतिशयोक्ति संगत नहीं बैठती। और राघवभट्ट ने जो 'कौ पृथिव्यां मुद्वती हर्षयुक्ता सैव पूर्वं दृष्टा शकुन्तला। ..... 'चन्द्र के चले जाने से जैसे कुमुद्वती संस्मरणीय शोभावाली बनी है, वैसे दुष्यन्त के जाने के बाद शकुन्तला भी हर्षयुक्त नहीं है' ऐसा जो सूचन निकाला है, वह सुन्दर है। लेकिन यहाँ 'मूले कुठाराघातः' रूप आपत्ति यही है कि आश्रम में दुष्यन्त-शकुन्तला का प्रेमसम्बन्ध दो सखियों के अलावा ओर कोई जानता नहीं था। इस लिये शिष्य के कथन में से शकुन्तला की मनःस्थिति का निरूपण हो रहा है ऐसा ध्वन्यर्थ निकालना मुश्कील है, बल्कि असम्भव ही है। अतःयह भी प्रक्षिप्त होगा[१५]। इस तरह बंगाली वाचनानुसार प्राप्त होनेवाले चार श्लोक में से उक्त दो श्लोकों की मौलिकता संशयग्रस्त हो जाती है, इसी लिये उन दोनों को प्रक्षिप्त माने गये है।।

मैथिली वाचना में भी इन्हीं चार श्लोकों का संचरण हुआ है। किन्तु पहले दो श्लोक के रूप में कर्कन्धूनाम्० एवं पादन्यासं० रखे गये है, और याति० तथा अन्तर्हिते० श्लोकों को तीसरे? चौथे क्रम पर रखे है। इस क्रम से उपस्थित होनेवाले श्लोकों में चन्द्रमा की अवदशा आनुक्रमिक रूप से वर्णित हो रही है। (चन्द्र का पतन शूरु होना, अस्त शिखर पर जाना, अन्त में उसका अन्तर्हित होना।) तथा शिष्य की इस उक्ति के साथ उद्विग्रमना अनसूया की उक्ति का अनुसन्धान

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हो जाना भी ठीक लगता है। किन्तु 'अत्यारूढिर्भवति महतामप्यपभ्रंशनिष्ठा (४/३)', के बाद 'लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु (४/४)' कहने में पुनरुक्ति-दोष आ रहा है। नाटक जैसी समय मर्यादा से परिबद्ध रहनेवाली कला में पुनरुक्ति को कोई स्थान हो ही नहीं सकता है। इस लिये याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते० ये दोनों श्लोकों ही प्रक्षिप्त होने की सम्भावना बढ जाती है।।

मैथिली वाचना में जिन दो श्लोकों को प्राथम्य दिया गया है, वही दोनों श्लोकों को ही काश्मीरी वाचना में स्वीकारे गये है। काश्मीरी वाचना का पाठ जिसमें संचरित हुआ है वह शारदा-पाण्डुलिपियाँ है, जिसको अधिक श्रद्धेय मानी जाती है। यहाँ पर कर्कन्धूनाम्० वाले श्लोक की प्रासंगिकता (= प्रभात के समय का आकलन करना) स्वयं स्पष्ट है, तथा पादन्यासं क्षितिधरगुरोः० वाले दूसरे श्लोक से प्राकरणिक अर्थ (शकुन्तला की भावि अवदशा) का सूचन और उसके साथ अनसूया की उक्ति का अनुसन्धान हो जाना संगत दिखता है। एवमेव, यहाँ इन दोनों श्लोकों के बीच में जो 'अपि च' का विनियोग हुआ है, वह समुच्चयार्थक के रूप में सुसंगत बैठता है। जैसे कि - पहले श्लोक में शिष्य के सम्मुख यज्ञवेदी के प्राङ्गण में जो हिलचाल हो रही है उसका चित्र खिंचा गया है। दूसरे श्लोक में शिष्य ने ऊर्ध्व दृष्टि करके चन्द्रमा का पतन होता हुआ देखा है उसका वर्णन किया है। अर्थात् किसी भी दृश्य की द्विपार्श्वी रमणीयता को वर्णित करने के लिये 'अपि च' का प्रयोग होता है ऐसा जो पहले कहा गया है उस स्वारस्य का चारितार्थ्य इन दोनों श्लोकों में ही सिद्ध होता है। इस सन्दर्भ में भी याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते० ये दोनों श्लोक प्रक्षिप्त होने की सम्भावना पर पुनर्विचार करने को हम बाध्य होते हैं।

अब प्रतिपक्ष की ओर से ऊठनेवाले प्रश्न को लेकर एक चर्चा करनी अनिवार्य हो जाती हैः- देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना में केवल इन्हीं (याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते०) दो श्लोकों को क्यू मान्य किये गये होंगे - (दूसरे शब्दों में कहे तो देवनागरी तथा दाक्षिणात्य वाचना में कर्कन्धूनाम्० और पादन्यासं० श्लोकों को क्यूँ हटाये गये होंगे - इसका उत्तर देना चाहिये।)

जिन चार श्लोकों की चर्चा हो रही है उसमें से 'याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते०' श्लोक प्राकरणिक ध्वन्यर्थ को प्रकट करनेवाले हैं। शङ्कर, रसचन्द्रिका टीका में बताते है कि याति० वाले श्लोक से 'एतावता पतितः सौभाग्यगर्वितायाः शकुन्तलाया अग्रे दुःखं भविष्यतीति सूचितम्।', तथा अन्तर्हिते० श्लोक से 'अन्यापदेशेन शकुन्तलायाः राजविरहः सूचितः।' इस ध्वन्यर्थ से आकर्षित हो कर इन दोनों को स्वीकार लिये होंगे। एवमेव, देवनागरी वाचना के टीकाकार राघवभट्ट ने भी अन्तर्हिते० श्लोक में 'चन्द्रवंश का नायक दुष्यन्त हस्तिनापुर चले जाने के बाद शकुन्तला हर्षयुक्त नहीं है, अतः अब उसे राजगृह प्रस्थान करवाना जरूरी है ऐसा पताका-स्थानक' दिखाते है[१६]। अर्थात् राघवभट्ट चतुर्थाङ्क के मुख्य दृश्य का सूचन देख रहे है। इस लिये ये दो श्लोक स्वीकार्य बने होंगे।। दूसरी ओर, कर्कन्धूनाम्० में केवल प्रासंगिक अर्थ मिलता है। अर्थात् प्रभात का ही सीधा वर्णन होने से उसमें केवल स्वभावोक्ति ही है। ऐसा सोच के उसको हटाया

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गया हो सकता है। एवमेव, पादन्यासं० वाले श्लोक को, जिसमें पूर्वोक्त व्यसनोदय की (दशान्तर की) बात पुनरुक्त हो रही है ऐसा देख कर उसको भी मूल पाठ में से निकाल दिया गया होगा।। बंगाली वाचना में २३० श्लोकों का गुम्फन है, उसके सामने देवनागरी और दाक्षिणात्य वाचना में १९० से २१० श्लोकों तक का स्वीकार है। अतः ये दोनों वाचनायें संक्षिप्तीकरण का परिणाम हो सकती है। नाट्यप्रयोग के दौरान नट कौ, या समय की मर्यादा के कारण कुछ श्लोकों में कटौती करने की आवश्यकता रहती ही है। इस सार्वभौम अनुभव को ध्यान में रखेगें तो, मंचन के सन्दर्भ में देवनागरी और दाक्षिणात्य वाचनाओं में से क्यूँ कर्कन्धूनाम्० तथा पादन्यासं० को हटाये गये हैं उसका समाधान मिल जाता है।।

३-६, पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट चार श्लोकों में से देवनागरी और दाक्षिणात्य वाचनाओं ने 'याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते० 'श्लोकों को मान्य किये है। दूसरी ओर काश्मीरी वाचना ने 'कर्कन्धूनाम्० और पादन्यासं०' श्लोकों को मान्य किये है। अतः पक्षान्तर के लिये यह सोचना जरूरी है कि काश्मीरी वाचना ने इन दो श्लोकों को ही मान्य करते हुए, अन्य दो (याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते०) को ही क्यूँ निकाल दिये होंगे - इसका समाधान प्राप्त करने के लिये इन चारों श्लोकों का छन्दः प्रयोग ध्यानास्पद है[१७]। यहाँ दो दो श्लोक की जोड में अनुक्रम से वसन्ततिलका एवं मन्दाक्रान्ता छन्दः का विनियोग किया गया है। उनमें से पहलेवाला छन्दः विजय, उल्लास, आनन्द को सूचित करनेवाला है, तथा विरह, दुःख, करुणतादि भावों को उजागर करने के लिये मन्दाक्रान्ता प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। इस दृष्टि से यदि सोचा जाय तो काश्मीरी वाचना में स्वीकार्य बने दो श्लोक ही यहाँ औचित्यपूर्ण दिखते हैं। किन्तु वसन्ततिलका छन्दः का प्रभाव और याति० एवं अन्तर्हिते० श्लोकों में वर्णित विचार परस्पर सुसंगत नहीं है। अतः ये दो श्लोक, जो देवनागरी और दाक्षिणात्य वाचना ने स्वीकारे है वे मौलिक नहीं हो सकते ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा है।।

४-१, अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल के षष्ठाङ्क में भी एक उदाहरण है: — राजा को मुद्रिका की प्राप्ति हो गई है। इस के अनुसन्धान में वह कह रहा है?

'राजा - (निःश्वस्य) वयस्य, रन्ध्रोपनिपातिनोऽनर्था इति यदुच्यते तदव्यभिचारि। पश्य,

मुनिसुताप्रणयस्मृतिरोधिना मम च मुक्तमिदं तमसा मनः।
मनसिजेन सखे प्रहरिष्यता धनुषि चूतशरश्च निवेशितः।। ६ - ८।।

'अपि च' -

उपहितस्मृतिरङ्गुलिमुद्रया प्रियतमामनिमित्तनिराकृताम्।
अनुशयादनुरोदिमि चोत्सुकः सुरभिमाससुखं समुपस्थितम्।। ६ - ९।।

विदूषकः - भो वअस्स, चिट्ठ दाव, जाव इमिणा दंडअट्ठेण कंदप्पबाणं णासेमि। (भो वयस्य, तिष्ठ तावत् यावत् अनेन दण्डकाष्ठेन कन्दर्पबाणं नाशयामि।) (इति दण्डकाष्ठमुद्यम्य चूताङ्कुरं पातयितुमिच्छति।)

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'यहाँ 'अपि च' से अवतारित दोनों श्लोकों में विचाराभिव्यक्ति एक समान है, तथा अनर्थों की परम्परा अव्यभिचरित होती है - ऐसे पूर्वकथन का समर्थन भी होता है। लेकिन दोनों श्लोकों के उपरान्त जो विदूषक की उक्ति है उसका तो अनुसन्धान केवल मुनिसुताप्रणयरोधिना० वाले श्लोक के साथ ही सिद्ध होता है। अत: ६/९ श्लोक, जो देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना में कभी मिलते ही नहीं है, वह बंगाली एवं मैथिली वाचना में प्रक्षिप्त हुआ होगा। एवमेव, 'अपि च' का पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट स्वारस्य भी यहाँ स्पष्ट रूप से उभर कर सामने नहीं आता है, इस लिये भी इनके प्रक्षिप्त होने की सम्भावना दृढीभूत होती है।।

५-१, निष्कर्ष: - (१) 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध जिन श्लोकों की उपर्युक्त आलेख में चर्चा की गई है उन श्लोकों की मौलिकता या प्रक्षिप्तता निम्नोक्त कोष्ठक से विशद होगी। एवं कौन सी वाचना में उसका स्वीकार या अस्वीकार हुआ है उसका चित्र हस्तामलकवद् दृष्टिगोचर होगा:

क्रम	श्लोक	अङ्क	मौलिक / प्रक्षेप	बृहत् पाठपरंपरा	लघुपाठ परंपरा	काश्मीरी वाचना
१	यतो यत: षट्चरणो०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित	निष्कासित
२	चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत
३	नीवारा: शुकगर्भकोटर०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत
४	कुल्याम्भोभि: पवन०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित	स्वीकृत
५	तुरगखुरहतस्तथाहि०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत
६	तीव्राघातादभिमुखत०	प्रथम	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत,गद्य को हटाया	स्वीकृत
७	अद्यापि नूनं हरकोप०	तृतीय	प्रक्षिप्त	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत, कुत्रचित् निकाला है।	निष्कासित
८	तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीत०	तृतीय	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत
९	यात्येकतोच्स्तशिखरं०	चतुर्थ	प्रक्षिप्त	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित
१०	अन्तर्हिते शशिनि सैव०	चतुर्थ	प्रक्षिप्त	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित
११	कर्कन्धूनामुपरि तुहिनं०	चतुर्थ	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित	स्वीकृत
१२	पादन्यासं क्षितिधर०	चतुर्थ	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित	स्वीकृत
१३	मुनिसुताप्रणयस्मृति०	षष्ठ	मौलिक	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत	स्वीकृत
१४	उपहितस्मृतिरङ्गुलि०	षष्ठ	प्रक्षिप्त	स्वीकृत	निष्कासित	निष्कासित

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निष्कर्ष

१. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल के परम्परागत पाठ में संक्षेप-प्रक्षेप होने की भारी सम्भावना है, अतः किस वाचना में कहाँ कैसे संक्षेप या प्रक्षेप हो सकता है वह चर्चास्पद है।

२. देवनागरी (एवं दाक्षिणात्य) वाचना में संचरित हो कर आया हुआ पाठ ही श्रद्धेय/ मौलिक पाठ है -? ऐसी सुप्रचलित पूर्वधारणा बदलने की आवश्यकता है।

३. बंगाली वाचना का पाठ, जो प्रक्षिप्तांशों से भरा हुआ प्रायः माना जा रहा है उसमें बहुत से अंश मौलिक प्रतीत हो रहे हैं।

४. समुच्चयार्थक 'अपि च' अव्यय के प्रयोग-स्वारस्य को ध्यान में लिया जायेगा तो प्रक्षिप्त श्लोक को पहचाने जाते है।

५. बंगाली वाचना के पाठ में, वर्णनात्मक श्लोकों के सन्दर्भ में प्रासंगिकता अधिक दिखती है।

६. देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना के पाठ में, (अज्ञात सूत्रधारों के द्वारा) मंचन के दौरान अपेक्षित भागों में संक्षेप किया गया है। कहने का तात्पर्यार्थ यह है कि जिसमें लघुपाठपरम्परा संचरित हुई है उस देवनागरी एवं दाक्षिणात्य वाचना का लघुपाठ संक्षिप्तीकरण का परिणाम है। इस उदाहरण में लघुपाठ मौलिकता के दावे को पुरस्कृत नहीं करता है।

७. समुच्चयार्थक 'अपि च' अव्यय से अवतारित छह स्थानों में से तीन स्थानों पर मौलिकता दिखती है, और तीन स्थानों में प्रक्षेप प्रतीत हो रही है। (१४ श्लोकों में से चार श्लोक प्रक्षिप्त है)।

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Notes

1. विक्रम विश्वविद्यालय, उज्जयिनी द्वारा आयोजित कालिदास समारोह (६-१२ अक्टूबर्, २०११) में प्रस्तुत आलेख।
2. मालविकाग्निमित्र एवं विक्रमोर्वशीय नाटकों में 'अपि च' से सम्बद्ध हो ऐसे दो दो श्लोक वाला कोई स्थान नहीं है।
3. यह श्लोक वंशस्थविल वृत्त में लिखा गया है।
4. यह श्लोक शिखरिणी वृत्त में लिखा गया है।
5. The second half is only a paraphrase of the third line of the preceding Śloka. A cautious writer like Kālidāsa will have one of these only not the two together. But the first śloka is undoubtedly authentic as it is quoted by Ānandvardhan in his Dhvanyāloka written about the ninth century A.D., Sharad Ranjan Ray, 1908, p. 102.
6. हरकोपाग्निदग्धस्य दैवेनामृतवर्षिणा। प्ररोहः संभृतो भूयः किं स्वित् कामतरोरयम्।। ३? ३४।।
7. &c. – is childish. Sharad Ranjan Ray, 1908, p. 279.
8. वेलोपलक्षणार्थमादिष्टोऽस्मि तत्रभवता प्रवासादुपावृत्तेन काश्यपेन। प्रकाशं निर्गतस्तावद् अवलोकयामि कियदवशिष्टं रजन्या इति। हन्त प्रभातम्। तथाहि -।
9. (अनुवाद) एक ओर चन्द्रमण्डल अस्तशिखर को पहुँच रहा है और एक ओर अरुण को आगे किये उदित हो रहा है सूर्य। दो तेज और दोनों का एक साथ व्यसन(अस्त) तथा अभ्युदय। इनसे लोक को शिक्षा मिलती है अपनी दशा बदलने की।। - कालिदासग्रन्थावली, (भाग ? २), अनु. पं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदीजी, कालिदास अकादेमी, उज्ञयिनी, २००८, पृ. ३९९
10. (अनुवाद) चन्द्र डूब गया तो वही कुमुद्वती अब आँखों को आनन्दित नहीं कर रही है। इष्ट (प्रिय) के प्रवास से उत्पन्न दुःख अबला ओं को अत्यन्त दुःसह होते है।। - कालिदासग्रन्थावली, (भाग - २), अनु. पं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदीजी, कालिदास अकादेमी, उज्ञयिनी, २००८, पृ. ३९९
11. (अनुवाद) और देखो बैरों के ऊपर पडी ओस को उषाकाल रंग रहा है, जागा मोर लकडी के उट ज पटल को छोड रहा है, ये हरिण शिशु चारों ओर उपवन में निर्भय चर रहे है, क्योंकि इसमें दर्भाङ्कुर हटा दिए गए है।। - कालिदासग्रन्थावली, (भाग - २), अनु. पं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदीजी, कालिदास अकादेमी, उज्ञयिनी, २००८, पृ. ३९८
12. (अनुवाद) जिस (चन्द्र) ने पर्वतराज सुमेरु के सिर पर पादन्यास पर अँधियारी दूर करते हुए भगवान् विष्णु के दूसरे धाम पर विचरण किया था वही चन्द्र अब बहुत कम बची किरणों के साथ आकाश से गिर रहा है। अत्यारूढि बडों को भी पतन का मुख दिखलाती है।। - कालिदासग्रन्थावली, (भाग -२), अनु. पं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदीजी, कालिदास अकादेमी, उज्ञयिनी, २००८, पृ. ३९८
13. The evidence of the works on poetics & anthologies authenticate the existence

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of the alleged inflated text from the 9th ? 12th cent. A.D. throughout Northern India. - A Reconstruction of the Abhi.Sakuntalam, Ed. D.K. Kanjilal, Calcutta, 1980, Introduction - e.

14. अतः पूर्वार्द्धं प्रभातोपलक्षणाय नालम्। अपरञ्च यद्याविष्कृत एवार्कः 'उपस्थितां होमवेलां गुरवे निवेदयामि' इत्यनन्तरोक्तं न संगच्छते। आविष्कृतारुण' इति समस्तपाठे पुनः व्यसनोदययोर्यौगपद्यं दुष्यति। तन्मन्ये प्रक्षिप्तोऽयं श्लोकः।। अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, सं शरदरञ्जन राय, कोलकाता, १९०८, पृ. ३७४

15. कौ पृथिव्यां मुद्वती हर्षयुक्ता ...। राघवः। This is fine imagination, & had undoubtedly influenced the interpolator (see Tika). But it overloads the fatal objection that the love affair between Śakuntalā & Duṣyanta was unknown to all in the hermitage. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, सं शरदरञ्जन राय, कोलकाता, १९०८, पृ. ३७७

16. अथ च कौ पृथिव्यां मुद्वती हर्षयुक्ता सैव पूर्वं दृष्टा शकुन्तला। शशिनीति दुष्यन्ते विषयनिगरणात् तद्वंशोद्भवत्वाद् वाऽतर्हितेऽसंनिहिते इत्यादि पूर्वार्धं सर्वं योज्यम्। तेनास्या राजगृहं प्रति प्रस्थानसूचकं तृतीयं पताकास्थानकमुपक्षिप्तम्। राघवभट्ट की अर्थद्योतनिका टीका, पृ. १२३

17. उसका पहला समाधान यही हो सकता है कि काश्मीरी वाचना में संचरित पाठ बहुत पुराना होगा, और उसमें शुरू से ही ये दोनों श्लोक नहीं रहे होंगे। लेकिन यह केवल एक धारणा है, जिसके लिये हमारे पास कोई तर्क नहीं है।

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6

The Great Transformations: Antecedents of Kerala's Cultural Past

Rajan Gurukkal

Ancient Kerala was an integral part of the Tamil Macro Region (Tamilakam), belonging to the larger archaeological context of the spread of iron using, Dravidian speaking descent groups, a phenomenon that began roughly with the first millennium B.C.[1] The descent groups were of unevenly evolved economies that resulted from human adaptation to different ecosystems of the landscape. Clues in various sources particularly the Tamil heroic poems, point out that interaction and coexistence of these groups of multiple economies accomplished a social formation structured by the dominance of agropastoralism, towards the closing centuries of first millennium B.C.[2] Over a few centuries, matters like complex redistribution generating differentiation, the limiting influence of dominance of agro-pastoral economy, predatory politics and plunder raids on paddy culture, and the incompatibility between kin-labour and plough technology seem to have got intensified bringing about a series of transitions around mid first millennium A.D – the transitions from kin labour to non-kin labour; from millet to paddy; from clan and kin ties to hereditary occupation groups and caste; from chiefdom to monarchy and; from heterodox religious ideology to Brahmaṇism.[3] Kerala stands out distinct adding a major ecological feature to these transitions. These were transformations of radical and fundamental nature deserving the prefix great, with little or no implications of the Polanyian sense.[4] The paper seeks to examine the major transformations in the ancient cultural past of Kerala that aggregately led to a total breakdown of the ancient social formation and the making of a new one.

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In terms of the scenario of material processes and socio-political transformation there was no difference between Kerala and the rest of the Tamil macro region. It was perhaps the historical antecedents of Kerala, which were remarkably different. The absence of royal land grants tradition is the most striking among them. Brāhmaṇa households sprang up on their own as sparsely distributed households as independent production units as early as the closing centuries before Christ, along the red soil fringes of the alluvial ecosystem, using clan labour in the neighbourhood where existed settlements of agro-pastoral clans whose burial relics have earned their culture the prefix, 'Megalithic/Iron Age.' One has to review the overall material culture and socio-political processes of the Tamil macro region during the millennium between mid first century B.C and mid first century A.D., in order to understand and characterise the scenario of the transformations. The transformation scenario, as far as we understand from extant sources, was that of the social formation with mounting contradictions immanent in its fundamental features such as redistribution, predatory politics and heroic culture, heading towards a crisis and inevitable breakdown. It is natural that we feel like asking the question as to how in such a social formation we account for the transmarine commerce of the period – the celebrated Indo-Roman Trade ? What could have been its impact on the social formation and transformation ?

Roman – Indian Contacts

It is quite well known among historians of ancient trade that Roman – Indian contacts became important with Emperor Augustus conquering Egypt at the end of first century BC, probably when the oft-quoted Pandya delegation to Rome happened. However, the presumption that the delegation must have led to the formalisation of exchange relations and promotion of transmarine commerce, is not borne out by evidence. That it enabled Rome to claim India as part of its empire is just a presumption. The term empire shows the imbalance explicit in the nature of contemporary relationship of exchange. The predominance of Indian overseas trade and her maritime civilisation symbolised by the Roman craziness for pepper,

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has always been a case taken for granted in the Country's historiography. Ginger and spikenard were other major spices that Romans procured through traders from the west. Hoards of Roman coins, particularly of Augustus and Tiberius discovered at several sites on the coasts in the west and east of peninsular India, detailed references to Indian ports in the writings of Graeco-Roman navigators, and allusions in ancient Tamil poems to the plying of Yavana ships, have been sufficient evidence par excellence for anybody to vouch for this presumption. Archaeological discoveries at several Egyptian, Mediterranean sites have confirmed the transport of Indian goods through the Red Sea ports of Myos Hormos (Quseir al-Qadim) and Berenike. The discovery of shreds of early Roman terra sigillata and amphorae pottery at Arikamedu on the Coromandel has added to the evidence.

Conceptualising the extant evidence, the present writer argued a couple of decades ago that the expression, 'classical Indo-Roman trade' could be a misnomer, for what had happened was not trade but a kind of exchange between traders and non-traders or between the monetised and non-monetised societies, involving the use-value of goods and precluding the notion of exchange value, price and profit.[5] Although the exchange had involved gold and silver coins of Rome, they were money, measure of value and means of payment only to the traders. To the people of Tamilakam, they were precious metals and valuable objects. Mere presence or absence of coins hardly means presence or absence of trade in a society.[6] Ancient Rome had brisk exchange with China, but as of now there is no numismatic evidence for it. Hundreds of Roman coins have been discovered in hoards as stray finds at various sites in southern India, a substantial number of which is often lost before being recorded and classified, hence failing to provide any reliable base to generalisations about the age, nature, and volume of trade.[7] On the contrary, coins obtained as dispersed objects from stratified sites are better indicators of the period, nature and context of exchange, than as hoards. Occurrence of coins in hoards, perhaps suggests their non-currency status in time, place and culture. The people of Tamil macro

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region were largely non-monetised as clues from literary sources would have us presume, a fact which probably accounts for the survival of the coins in hoards and as fresh from the mint. As a contrast, the people of the Chinese coasts were monetised, which probably accounts for the absence of Roman coins. What the people in the Tamil macro region needed were gold and silver which they used as ornaments and valuables of status and ranking. Hence the Roman coins were used mainly as objects of treasure *per se* as their discovery in hoards and appearance quite fresh from the mint, suggest. The gold and silver coins were turned into ornaments by putting them on a thread as several pieces found with loops on the edge or aperture at the centre would have us believe.

Muziris and Other Ports

The Graeco-Roman texts of the mid first century AD such as the Periplus Maris Erythraei and the Natural History of Pliny the Elder, based upon the experience of merchants sailing to the Indian coasts, make specific references to ports on the southern west coast, such as Muziris, Tyndis, Nelcynda and Bacare, none of which has been indisputably identified as yet.[8] Nevertheless, there is a strong case of discovery and identification of Muziris now based on geological and archaeological evidence, thanks to the excavation of a few points at the Pattanam site.[9] One of the several hoards of Roman coins found in the Tamil south was recovered from Valluvally, a place at a distance of six kms from Pattanam. The data from Pattanam, the explored as well as systematically excavated, provide clear archaeological proof for the presence of Mediterranean merchants and long term-regular transportation of spices, gems and so on. When the port of Muziris began is not precisely known, although we are clear about the period of its rise into prominence, thanks to mentions in Periplus and by Pliny would have us believe first century B.C the zenith of its prosperity. A document namely, Vienna Papyrus discovered in 1985, suggests the rise of the port around 2nd century. The merchants were mainly Philistines, Arabs, Persians and Greeks. The story of Hippalus Wind apart, the awareness about latitudinal parallels and corresponding destinations had formed part of the working

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knowledge of contemporary overseas navigators. Traders sailing from the horn of Africa across the Arabian sea knew that by navigating the 120 latitude east would take them to the southern west coast of India.[10]

The presence of amphorae implies import of olive oil, wine and garum, of which the first and last hardly had any use value to contemporary south Indians, although the wine might have attracted the chieftains. Olive oil and Garum were the main cooking oil of Romans and Greeks. It is reasonable to presume that they were brought by merchants for consumption rather than exchange. Berenike, the transit port between ancient Egypt and Rome for merchants and merchandises making their way to the Indian coast, has yielded shreds of Indian pottery with brāhmī writings, and other non-local goods such as teak wood. Muziris was one of the major ports to which ships from Berenike sailed. The presence of teak wood and brāhmī writing among the archaeological finds on the Red Sea coast has been taken as indicators of Indian merchants and their ships. Since the teak wood remains found are of unused timber, it appears that they were imported from Kerala by Roman ships. Nevertheless, there is no evidence as to show that ships were built in Kerala or elsewhere in southern India. The ships sailing with the monsoon winds requiring the angular mast of the Arab design could not have been built in Rome any way. Therefore, it is reasonable to presume, as has already been argued in the light of the archaeological remains, that they were designed and built by the Arabs on the Red Sea coast.[11] The status of Berenike as the starting point of sailors bound to the east, coupled with the presence of teakwood among the finds there, probably suggests the possibility of a boat-building centre on the Red sea coast.

The impact of Roman-Indian exchange on the Tamil Macro Region was peripheral, for it was not trade as far as the local people who were in a social formation characterised by redistributive agro-pastoral economy with use-value based exchange systems and predatory polity. The predatory chieftains, could in no way, have administered the ports and conducted the so called 'Roman trade' of their times, for want of a polity mature enough

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to run and regulate scheduled commerce with distant societies. There is no indication of them to have owned and controlled mines, crafts production and export. The overseas exchange that prevailed, hardly involved introduction of any new forces of production, and precluded circulation of labour and accumulation of resources beyond clan-kin ties.

Pattanam Finds

The excavations at Pattanam in the Ernakulam District of Kerala, have yielded a variety of organic and inorganic categories of archaeological objects such as wood, plant-fibre, spices, vegetables and nuts as well as beads and bead-materials, uncut gem-stones, copper, bronze and iron objects, backed bricks, and shreds of different types of ceramic including the early Roman variety. The major items of finds at Pattanam, as in the case of Aricamedu, are relics of brick structures, shreds of Mediterranean ceramic variety such as amphora and garum jars, the former usually used for carrying olive oil and wine, and the latter, for dry fruits. There are remains of huge jars as well, probably used for carrying grains. These items were imported obviously not for exchange, but for the self consumption of merchants who were primarily, Greeks, Arabs, and Philistines. The Mediterranean merchants were not rice eaters, and hence required to carry with them enough grains of their preference. Likewise, they had to carry their oils and beverages too. The remains of huge jars indicate the import of grains, those of amphorae, that of olive oil and wine, and those of garum jars, that of dry fruits. In the Putengarian Table, there is mention about a temple of Augustus at Muziris, although not borne out by Archaeology as yet. All this would have us justifiably presume sites of Roman-Indian contacts in general and Pattanam in particular to be settlements of Mediterranean merchants who were constrained to stay in a site of shipping, at least for a few months, i.e., during the gap between the two monsoon-winds. This is not to distinguish the merchant settlement from the port, but to show how integral to each other the two were in those days. An ancient port like Muziris was primarily a colony of foreign merchants with their store-houses close to the wharf at the inlet from where boats carried goods to

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ships off-shore, a few workshops of craftsmen, and local people providing various goods and services.

It is quite important to interpret the Vienna Museum Pepyrus and the archives of Nicanor, which are of great value for any study of the nature and organization of exchange between classical Rome and the Kerala coast. The Pepyrus records a loan agreement drawn in Muziris by an Alexandrian creditor of 2nd century with a transmarine trader. It lists items, their prices and the traders who lent out money and who borrowed. The Papyrus is obviously a transmarine trader's personal copy, for it mentions various expenditures such as customs duties, payment to the camel man etc., and the privilege of the trader in the transaction. The papyrus confirms the distinction between those engaged in transmarine commerce with the orient and the merchant middlemen.The record shows that the price of oriental goods was astounding with 25% of the estimated cost added as the taxes, tolls and transit wages paid at various points. The Nicanor archives provide detailed information on the taxes levied on a variety of items transported along the desert roads from Myos Hormos and Berenike to Egypt. As Pliny has noted, the price was hundred times the actual cost. A shipload of goods from the east was worth seven million Drachmas and hence they were transported with great care and protective participation by the ruling aristocracy of Rome. Spices, ivory, pearls, nard and silk were the most precious among the goods shipped. According to Strabo the ships that brought oriental goods from Muziris amounted to 120 per year on an average. There is no wonder in Pliny's mention of the Roman Senate growing anxious about the drain of gold. That the drain meant influx of gold to the Indian coast is not true, for most of it had gone into the hands of traders. In short, the archaeological finds at Pattanam have nothing fundamental, necessitating re-conceptualisation of the social formation of the Tamil Macro Region in general or of Kerala in particular. Roman – Indian contacts and the ports had prevailed as an aspect of the social formation structured by the dominance of agro-pastoralism and redistributive economy based on kinship.

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Transformation Scenario

It was virtually impossible for the socio-economic aggregate to sustain itself any longer with its low labour productivity and ever falling potential of economic reproduction.[12] So theoretically, the social formation was anticipating an inescapable crisis of dissolution. There is no direct evidence for a total crisis leading to the dissolution of the social formation. However, a disjunction is explicit in the sources, both archaeological and literary. If we can rely upon the existing chronology and context of the Tamil heroic poems, it is obvious that there is a marked cultural discontinuity by the close of third century A.D.[13] None of the heroic poems sings the exploits of a chieftain belonging to the period after the third century. All the major characteristic features of the heroic society seem to have disappeared. The three principal chiefdoms namely, the Cera, Coḷa and Pāndya and the ruling lineages next to them, namely the Veḷir seem to have gone into oblivion. Along with the eclipse of the chiefdoms we see a corresponding discontinuity of the institution of raids and booty redistribution. Naturally the heroic compositions of bardic diction too seem to have been discontinued.

Often the discontinuity has been assigned to the so called Kaṇabhra invasion, an anecdote based on little evidence. An invasion thesis might do for explaining the replacement of the chiefdoms rather than their disappearance. There is no clear indication of substitution, though the rulers mentioned in the Pulānkuṇichchi rock inscription of 5th/6th century from the region of the Pāndyan chiefdom are not of any known lineage.[14] There were various developments of fundamental nature other than the disappearance of chiefdoms, which the anecdote can hardly explain. For instance, an invasion would not be enough for explaining the ushering in of major socio-economic and political changes. In fact, the construct of invasion is a weaker explanation of the discontinuity. Explanation through conceptualisation of the emergent new properties and their interconnections is the approach followed here. Conceptual explanation does not depend on given facts, for its facts are conceptually produced.

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However, it is not unlikely that the predatory marches of the Kaṇabhras had created havoc in certain places. Being a social formation in the process of breaking down due to the maturing of its own internal contradictions, the predatory marches could have easily aggravated its disorder. Their devastating effect could have accentuated the fall of the tottering chiefdoms. It is natural that as a political system lacking in institutional structures capable of guarding the state power, the chiefdoms failed in putting up a strong resistance to the marauders. We are told by the generations old tradition that the Kalabhra reign had evil effects on the brāhmaṇas and they had equated miseries of the period to those of the Kali Age. There are incidental allusions in a few copper plates of the eighth-ninth centuries to a traditional memory of the brāhmaṇas about an evil period of hardships that they were doomed to face.[15] One need not go by the literal meaning of the brāhmaṇa insecurity and ascribe undue importance to the Kalabhra-s. However, what the brāhmaṇa insecurity signifies is quite important. Brahman has to be taken here as the signifier of the evolving alternative mode of production involving relations of non-kin labour and juridico-political system. Hence it is not the invasion as such, but the crisis of the faltering social formation, which deserves analytical attention. Theoretically, it was the maturing of the contradictory dynamic of the social formation that engendered all great transformations in history. Conditions like the dominance of agro-pastoral economy, its relation with predatory politics, limiting influence of plunder raids on wet-rice agriculture, complex redistribution generating differentiation and mismatch between kin-labour and plough technology are constructs based on direct clues in sources.[16] Matters like the contradictory structure of the social formation, the everintensifying incompatibilities between productive relations and forces of production, limitations of kin-labour and the continuous decline of the reproductive ability of the economy are conceptual abstractions or constructs based on clues in the sources.[17] It is significant that the present state of knowledge about the chronology of the heroic poems and the absence of evidence for the continuation of the chiefdoms go well with the

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ever intensifying contradictory dynamic immanent in the heroic society. The theoretical perspective that the operation of the social formation was persistently giving rise to forces of its own dissolution renders the alleged discontinuity plausible and accounts for the absence of evidence for the continuity. Predatory marches, migrations and disintegration of kinship were steadily accentuating the process of dissolution. The perspective shows that the absence of evidence is not accidental. In short, what is to be considered fundamental is the contradictory dynamic of the social formation that had matured over the years and culminated in a rupture.

From Kin Labour to Non-kin Labour

The transition from kin labour to non-kin labour presupposing expansion of plough agriculture was a process advancing side by side with the transition from millet to paddy.The huge tracts, namely vanpulam of agro-pastoral clans, were zones of millets, a wide variety of which constituted their crops. The socio-economic relations, political institutions and cultural practices of agro-pastoral means of subsistence dominated human life in the landscape. Of all, the most detrimental to paddy culture was the political institution of predatory raids and plunder that involved destruction of peasant settlements and their crops. Setting fire, eriparanteṇuttal praised in the Tamil heroic poems was a routine act that accompanied raids.[18] Plough agriculture was indeed a form of subsistence in the social formation but confined to small pockets of wet-rice ecosystems namely menpulam without any scope of development due to incompatible relations of production. Though paddy cultivation, the most superior form of production in terms of technology and productivity, was tacitly recognized important in those times, it could not articulate the socio-political and cultural conditions of its development. Contemporary social relations, political institutions and cultural practices were utterly uncongenial to the development of plough agriculture.

The transition from kin labour to non-kin labour was seminal to the transformation in question, for kinship constituted the foundation of contemporary relations of production. However, the complex redistributive

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system and practice of gift (koṇai), the fundamental aspects of distribution, transcending kindred descendents were accentuating the process of kinship erosion and disintegration of clans. Moreover, there was continuous pressure of forces of production symbolised by the plough on relations based on kinship due to operational incompatibility. Operation of plough agriculture necessitates the division of labour involving specialisation of arts and crafts, and transcending kinship. This incompatibility between the technology of plough agriculture and contemporary relations of production was anticipating disintegration of relations of production based on familial division of labour and clan kinship.

Though it is anachronistic to ascribe the institution of land-grants to brahmans, to the Age of the heroic poems, occasionally brahmans as scholarly bards, Vedic priests and preceptors seem to have received gifts of land, obviously as a part of the redistributive system. The oft-quoted references to land-grants are not reliable, for their source is of the later period and content quite traditional.[19] Even if the aforesaid land gifts were literally true, the concerned individual brāhmaṇas could not have held the land except in a nominal sense for both ecological and socio-economic reasons. Moreover, the aforesaid brāhmaṇas were almost like bards too, whose way of life was not altogether sedentary in those days.

However, there are indications in the poems to show that the number of landed brahman households was increasing in Tamilakam, presumably under the patronage of chieftains. In certain parts brāhmaṇas might have founded individual settlements by themselves without any formal sanction or patronage by the chieftains. This seems to have been the case of the formation of brāhmaṇa settlements in Kerala.

It is significant to note that most of the traditional brāhmaṇa settlements of Kerala have in their vicinity Iron Age burial complexes. It is explicit that there was some correspondence between the early brāhmaṇa settlements and the Iron Age sites.[20] The indications from places elsewhere in Tamilakam also tend to suggest that brāhmaṇa households had emerged

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as independent units of production with working clannish families linked to them. They had existed in clusters well representing a new mode of appropriation of labour as well as surplus and signifying an alternative system counterpoised to what was dominant. [21] Anyway, one of the major processes in the social formation was the emergence of non-kin labour in the agrarian sector through the interaction between brahman households and the neighbouring clannish folk.

It is reasonable to assume that in Kerala some of the ancient brāhmaṇa households had appeared in the wet-rice ecosystem pockets in the Western Ghats where clan labour was available. The reason for this assumption is the absence of technology for the productive use of wetlands in the plains. There is no archaeological evidence as to associate the early Iron Age people with wet-rice agriculture in the plains of Kerala. At the same time there are archaeological evidences like the occurrence of iron ploughshare among the mortuary goods of Megaliths at a few places in the Western Ghats to vouch for cultivation in the wet-rice ecosystem of highlands. The sites excavated at Kuppakkolli in the Wayanad District that have yielded ploughshare are worth-mentioning here both for the wet-rice eco-type and clannish inhabitants.[22] So the earliest paddy fields of Kerala were probably in the high ranges and the elevated alluvial beds in the plains rather than along the low lying wet-lands. Such areas have been identified at several points along the Western Ghats. Some of them are now within forests where fields with paddy as wild growth have survived as an organic relic of the past culture. In such areas often the remnants of brāhmaṇical temples though of a relatively later period are also found. Tellikkal Vayal within the Parampikkulam Reserve is a good example of an archaic paddy field with the remains of the temple.

The brāhmaṇa being non-cultivating people by themselves, their land as a unit of production independent of communal land, required working families attached to it for ensuring permanency of labour. They had to depend upon the familial labour of the neighbouring clans, a situation

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that had led to the formation of some instituted relationship of labour realisation with the neighbouring clansmen. We do not know the exact nature of this relationship, but in effect it must have been a regular tie up with the families of clansmen. Whatever was the form of realisation of the clan labour, the fundamental aspect must have been a tenurial tie between the tilling clannish folk and the non-tilling brāhmaṇa households as two objectively antagonistic classes. This meant that the brāhmaṇa household was an independent unit of production, with stratified relations based on non-kin labour and hence a contrast to the communal settlements. The contrast between brāhmaṇa holdings and communal holdings was fundamental, though not in terms of the nature of ownership which was collective in both the cases – the former with the exclusiveness of brāhmaṇa and the latter with that of the clans. So the growing number of brāhmaṇa households was an important phenomenon, for it meant the progressive disintegration of the system of productive relations based kinship on the one hand and the corresponding emergence of an alternative system with the potential to evolve from within and expand as to be compatible to the requirements of plough technology.

From Clans to Hereditary Occupation Groups and Caste

Land-holding by the brāhmaṇas as distinguished from the communal holding was known to the social formation. However, it presupposed only a simple stratification between the landed and the landless. This was to evolve subsequently through the emergence of intermediaries. The mid-first millennium AD was thus a turning point in terms of stratification and hierarchical ordering that took more than two centuries to characterise the social aggregate. The development of relations in plough agriculture towards domination of the total society was a long process of the proliferation of occupational specialisation and its ordering into a hierarchy. The social relations began to be structured and institutionalised during the sixth-seventh centuries with the steady expansion of rice agriculture across the wetland.[23] What began taking shape in the brāhmaṇa households was crucial for the beginnings of a hierarchy. The permanent workforce attached

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to the brāhmaṇa households had the obvious possibility of being conceived hierarchically because of the stratified system of production relations and the brāhmaṇical tradition of social differentiation. The notion of hierarchy was implicit in the system of production in which the relation between two objectively antagonistic classes was fundamental.

The social relations began to be further structured during the sixth-seventh centuries with the steady expansion of rice agriculture across the wetland. The development of relations in plough agriculture towards domination of the total society was a long process of the proliferation of occupational specializations and their ordering into a hierarchy. We have already referred to the emergence of hereditary occupations in the chiefly settlements with a greater proportion in coastal towns, marketing centres and ruling headquarters, and the trend of differential allocation of positions and roles at the instance of the highest chiefly authority anticipating the formation of a hierarchy. What began taking shape in the brāhmaṇa households was much more crucial for the real beginnings of a hierarchy. The permanent workforce attached to the brāhmaṇa households had the greatest possibility of being conceived hierarchically because of the stratifying system of production relations and the brāhmaṇical tradition of social differentiation. The notion of hierarchy was implicit in the system of production in which the relation between two objectively antagonistic classes was fundamental. The mid-first millennium AD was thus turning point in terms of stratification and hierarchical ordering which took more than two centuries to characterize the social aggregate. It is with the sixth century that we see the new agrarian system articulating its political control as manifested in the new monarchies. The proliferation of hereditary occupations and their absorption into the jāti hierarchy were ongoing processes through new institutional agencies of which the temple ranked the foremost. Other institutional formations like service tenements both in the domains of the temple and the king, crystallized hereditary occupations into jāti hierarchy.

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The social structure was a hierarchy with landholders (brāhmaṇa-ūrāḷar in the case of brāhmaṇa villages and the ruling class nāṇuṇayavar in the case of the non-brāhmaṇa settlements) at the apex and the large number of leaseholders (kārāṇar) who were mostly artisans and craftsmen, in the middle, placed over the primary producers (aṇiyāṇar) who were at the bottom. Almost parallel to the leaseholders there were many who held small strips of land as hereditary holdings (kāṇi) which were also tilled by the primary producers. The circulation of the produce in given shares thus took a structured path through all these categories enjoying differing levels of entitlement. The most benefited were the landholders who were ensured goods and services by the settlers in their land while the most exploited were the primary producers. As part of the social mechanisms of ensuring goods and services to the landholders through the notion of obligation, all artisans and craftsmen were subjected to immobility. The conditions of subjection together with the objective reality of the producers being stripped off their produce constituted the major contradiction in the system. Perpetuating relations of domination through the reproduction of the contradictory dynamic, the discursive regime became distinct by the breakdown of the heroic discourse and the emergence of the alternative.

Expansion of agrarian settlements through the formation of brāhmaṇa villages involved the superimposition of the superior rights of the brāhmaṇas over the communal holdings and the clan families of the locality. It must have been an intricate process of transformation of primitive agriculture and clan settlements into advanced agriculture and farmer settlements, respectively. The crystallisation of functionally specific families into jātis had its beginnings in these brāhmaṇa households. The proliferation of hereditary occupations and their absorption into the jāti hierarchy were ongoing processes. Subsequently, they acquired a greater dimension through new institutional agencies of which the temple ranked the foremost. Other institutional formations like service tenements both in the domains of the temple and the king crystallised hereditary occupations into jāti hierarchy.[24]

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As regards the brāhmaṇical tradition of social differentiation, with the experience of social stratification as a part of the history of brāhmaṇism and its theoretical abstractions into varṇa and saṅkīrṇa jāti as central to its legacy. It is only natural that the brāhmaṇas of contemporary South India, who inherited the Vedic, Śāstric and Purāṇic scholarship, had the traditional perception and appreciation of their society. They could have conceived the society of functionally specific families attached to their households only in terms of the hierarchy of occupations and social status implicit in the Sāstraic explanations about jātis. This is not to suggest that brāhmaṇisation of social stratification was a conscious project of the brāhmaṇas. It was a historically and culturally contingent effect rather than the result of a conspiratorial scheming, though articulations of brāhmaṇas a group of spatiotemporally and culturally significant community were causally linked to the process.

The brāhmaṇical perception and appreciation of social groups would, however, just not be enough for the society to become hierarchically structured in the idiom of jāti. Even the existence of preconditions such as hereditary occupations, asymmetrical social relations and differential allocations of positions would not help us deduce from them the prevalence of the jāti hierarchy. It was the dominant position of the brāhmaṇas that was crucial in the operation of the jāti hierarchy. The tacitly recognized ritual supremacy, resource potential, social control, political influence and cultural skills provided the brāhmaṇas with the best conditions of domination. They symbolized the collective norms and took precedence over the ruling powers. Their hegemony over the communication channels and ideological structures of legitimization had made them a determinant force of political authority by the sixth century. On top of all, their status as custodians of higher wisdom about the universe, practical knowledge about the cycles of seasons and their calendrical measurements enabling prediction of natural changes had added to the natural charisma of the brāhmaṇas. It was this enormous potential of social control coupled with the

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growing control of means of production which, subsuming all differential categories and groups in due course, encompassed the total society.

How brāhmaṇism succeeded in providing the institutional devices has to be examined in the context of the culturally and historically contingent conditions of social domination which we have briefly indicated earlier. The emergence of brāhmaṇism the major world view generating knowledge about the Dakṣiṇāpatha, its peoples and cultures, spreading a new pattern of thinking and transforming the local modes of social existence constituted the historical context. The argument is that the success of brāhmaṇical domination and the establishment of jāti hierarchy were discursively realized goals. Jāti hierarchy was, in short, the effect of the brāhmaṇical form of social representation which became hegemonic around the mid first millennium AD., a temporal juncture that witnessed the expansion of a technology of production and social strategies of labour realization leading to the proliferation of hereditary occupations. This is not to suggest that brāhmaṇisation of social stratification was a conscious project of the brāhmaṇas. It was a historically and culturally contingent effect rather than the result of a conspiratorial scheming, though articulations of brāhmaṇas as a group of spatio-temporally and culturally significant community were causally linked to the process. The brāhmaṇas do not seem to have manipulated the political space for ordering the differential relations of production into the hierarchy of jātis. The notion of the pure self and the impure other which originally constituted the basis of jāti, was tribal and a part of the horizontal social division of the primeval kind. The formation of jātis along the domestic groups of hereditary occupations was also not brāhmaṇical. In fact, even in northern India, proliferation of jātis owed to the socio-economic processes and not to brāhmaṇism which only explained the phenomenon through the Śāstric idiom. What seems to be causally linked to the brāhmaṇas is the imposition of their notion of purity and pollution as fundamental and of themselves as the central point of reference for determining the relative status of each jāti. In short what is brāhmaṇical is not jāti but the notion of hierarchy. Hierarchy as

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such, however, is not merely a notional construct of brāhmaṇism and was derived from the objective conditions related to the forces and relations of production. And it had the specific historical context of operation at the juncture of an agrarian technology and social strategy of labour realization necessitating institutional devices for stabilizing hierarchical stratification.

From Chiefdom to Monarchy

Transition from chiefdom to monarchy was integral to the formation of agrarian localities, which was a process accomplishing a uniform structure of social relations irrespective of whether they were brāhmaṇa settlements non-brāhmaṇa settlements. That the brāhmaṇas are ūrāḷar (headman of ūr) is an indicator of the development of old brāhmaṇa households into full-fledged agrarian settlements probably through land-grants. They must have involved the acquisition of new rights over both land and labour, the realisation of which required the backing of a strong political authority. In the absence of such a political authority, the brāhmaṇa households at certain places had faced onslaughts on them, the memories of which lasted many centuries as noted earlier. A perceptible feature of agrarian expansion was the proliferation of brāhmaṇa villages throughout the fertile tracts of major river valleys in the region. Expansion of agrarian settlements through the formation of brāhmaṇa villages involved the superimposition of the superior rights of the brāhmaṇas over the communal holdings and the clan families of the locality. It must have been an intricate process of transformation of primitive agriculture and clan settlements into advanced agriculture and farmer settlements, respectively. The birth of monarchy, a new political structure different from that of the chiefdom was a simultaneous process with the development and expansion of wet-rice agriculture.[25] A process involving differentiation and stratification, its outcome as well as the instrument was the state that was slowly manifesting its features of political institution and authority structure namely monarchy. With the expansion of the new relations of production and the spread of wet-rice agriculture that became characteristic to the period from 7th – 8th centuries, the society became class-structured and the birth of the state, plausible.

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As agrarian expansion advanced, human settlements (ūr) originally bound by kinship got integrated as agrarian localities (nādu) which subsequently acquired great political significance in the monarchical system. The role of caste in the integration of the agrarian society whose mechanisms of appropriation were based on extra-economic coercion, was extremely crucial. The social structure was a hierarchy with landholders at the apex and the large number of leaseholders (kārāṇar) who were mainly artisans and craftsmen, in the middle, placed over the primary producers (aṇiyāṇar) who were at the bottom. The structured circulation of the produce in given shares through these categories of hierarchy with landholders ensured of proprietary rights over the settlers in their land, subjected to immobility. This necessitated the state. Under culturally contingent circumstances, the state took the institutional structure of monarchy and the productively organised agrarian localities with hierarchically structured society, writ large accomplished the kingdom.

From Heterodox Ideology to brāhmaṇism

Elements of brāhmaṇical influence are evident in the Tamil heroic poems and the ideological superstructure of the social formation. The structure of political power, sources of legitimacy and nature of authority in contemporary chiefdoms were influenced by the brāhmaṇical ideology too as borne out by the Tamil heroic poems. This was particularly true of contemporary Kerala, for the Cera chieftains were praised as the performers of velvi (Vedic sacrifices) and equated with the Vedic gods such as Sūrya, Agni, Marut, the Pañcabhūtas, the constellations and the navagrahas. The equation reminds us of the lokapāla theory of the itihāsa-purāṇa tradition (Prp. II.5). There was a high degree of influence of the Buddhist ideology also. The poems show the growing significance of the political ideology drawing heavily from Vedic itihāsic-purāṇic-śāstric brāhmaṇism.

However, the nature and extent of brāhmaṇical influence upon monarchy were markedly different and fundamental. The new sources contain indications of a different social formation in the making. The land relations

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and ideology of brāhmaṇas were central to the new social formation though the heterodox religions did continue to co-exist. The most powerful discourse born out of the contradictory dynamic that began to develop during the sixth to seventh centuries was bhakti. As a new religious sensibility, it gradually made its appearance in the invocatory stanzas of the heroic anthologies before being institutionalized through the Alvar and Nayanar hymns. The Paripātal, one of the collections under Ettuttokai introduces the concept of bhakti, placing it at the beginning of the new discourse, i.e. the bhakti of the Alvar/Nayanar hymns. However, the historical context of bhakti as a discourse whose genealogy goes far back in time was the expansion of structured agrarian society of contradictory relations. There it mirrored the way the subjected and exploited lived, the relation between themselves and the objective conditions of their existence. It glossed over the material reality of the conditions of domination by inventing other-worldly explanations for the social contradictions. The discourse provided a psychological basis for social acceptance of the explanation of the plight of the oppressed in the agrarian society. The psychological basis took the form of a cult of complete surrender at the feet of gods as the final refuge, acting as an illusory solace to the miserable. It gained momentum as a cult of personal gods housed in temples that grew up as the nerve centre of agrarian settlements more or less as a sequel to the expansion of agriculture. The hymns of the Alvars and Nayanars were composed in praise of these personal gods of temples whose distribution and sacred geography corresponded to the course of agrarian expansion. With the manifestation of the bhakti discourse as a temple based movement in the seventh and eighth centuries, the formation of the dominant ideology of the agrarian society was complete.

Within the mystifying discourse of bhakti, voices of dissent against the hegemonic were not precluded. Since it was a social formation of contradictory relations involving the tension of subjection and exploitation, voices of protest were inevitable. The hegemonic discourse was so imposing that the elements of protest and dissent could be articulated only

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through its discursive practices that neutralized them through the strategy of containment. A detailed analysis of the process is not within the scope of this essay, which stresses the emergence of the voice of the dissent in a social system of contradictory relations.

The Human Ecological Transformation

Depending upon the ecological differences of the land the process of transformation involved certain unique features. There have been a lot of ecological differences between the agro-climatic zones of Kerala and those of the rest of Tamilakam in terms of seasons, rain fall, landscape, soil structure, permeability and so on. Extensive forests, large catchments, numerous micro watersheds, many natural aquatic networks of rivers and streams mostly flowing towards the west and well drenched aquifers constituting wet plains, vast stretches of water logged/saturated depressions, thickly vegetated large marshes and isolated swamps surrounded by undulating lateritic mid-terrains merging with hillocks and low lying fluvio-marine land forms had made the landscape of Kerala a major ecological distinction. The most striking difference about the wet-rice landscape eco-system is the excess of water in the case of Kerala and its scarcity in the case of regions elsewhere.

This would suggest a great deal of differences in the nature of cultivation followed and labour processes required at the two places. In the wet-lands of the former the management of the excess water has been the central problem since the days of the very inception of agrarian settlements whereas in those of the latter, irrigation. So for construing the nature of historical land use in an agro-climatic region one would need to confirm the availability of the required technology and social relations during the point of time in question.

The lateritic hill slopes and undulating midland terrains besides the small pockets of wetlands in the Ghats and foothills were the main productive zones of Kerala in the age of the Tamil heroic poems. The wetlands grew paddy and sugarcane while the other parts cultivated a wide variety of millets and short-term dry crops. These were supplemented by cattle

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keeping. The extensive low lying wet-plains were largely inaccessible to cultivation though peoples from late Stone Age onwards seem to have subsisted on fishing and hunting in the water logged/saturated landscape. Though the technology of wet-rice agriculture was known, its extension to the inhospitable landscape through reclamation of heavily vegetated marshes and water logged expanses was impossible, for it was far beyond the reach of the familiar labour of clannish households. Needless to say that it was a very hard task demanding massive labour. A long-term collective endeavour, it required apposite institutional, structural, and ideological means of large scale social mobilisation besides the relevant system of knowledge and technology of management.

The poems are perhaps the only source for assuming the brahman households to have existed in ancient Kerala. It is certain that the number of the brāhmaṇa households was obviously very small in those times and they must have been within the domains of hunter chieftains, small and big. In the plains they must have concentrated in areas of wet-rice landscape eco-types adjacent to the red soil terraces and between the forested hill tracts and water-logged low-lands. The expansion of paddy cultivation beyond these small patches was not easy under the socio-political set up of the heroic age, as we have already discussed. It was not possible for the period to expand plough agriculture to low-lands that were marshy and water-logged, because the task necessitated a variety of factors like a fairly evolved technology of water management, knowledge of seasons, specialised social division of labour, effective institutions for the realisation of labour, a competent class for the coercive mobilisation of massive labour and so on.

The absence of royal land-grants to brāhmaṇas in Kerala and the claim of the brāhmaṇical origin legend of Kerala, assigning to Paraśurāma's axe the credit of reclaiming 160 kātam (an old time measure) of land that lay between Gokarnam and Kanyakumari, are clear indications of the direct acquisition of the arable land of Kerala by the brāhmaṇas without being obligated to anybody. It appears that the culturally contingent brāhmaṇical

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authority, ritual charisma, legitimacy, social command, structures of control, institutional devices, the various systems of knowledge and technologies of management succeeded in coercing the massive labour of the clans for the conversion of the wet-landscape ecosystem of Kerala into paddy fields. Indeed it must have been a long process of two or three centuries and involving the series of simultaneous transitions that we have already discussed. This model of labour mobilisation and coercion must have been replicated by the ruling class also as the royal holdings indicate. How they spread to the wet-land ecosystem and converged into temple centred corporate settlements when, are conjectures. The transformation of individual brāhmaṇa households into corporations was the result of the economic processes. As the processes that led to the dissolution of the chiefdom level social formation of the descent groups were the same as those in the places elsewhere in the Tamilakam, and as the alternative to it was to evolve from the production relations of the brāhmaṇa households, the emerged social formation in Kerala was more or less the same. What was crucial about the new formation was its binary basis between land holding and landlessness which eventually got mediated by intermediaries to form a complex structure. Specialized division of labour, its crystallization into hereditary occupations and their non-economic coercive modes of social realization were the main characteristics.

Conclusion

The central argument of the paper is that the social formation of ancient Tamilakam with its contradictory structure, ever-intensifying incompatibilities between productive relations and forces of production, limitations of kin-labour and the continuous decline of the reproductive ability of the economy faced the inevitable dissolution crisis by mid first millennium A.D. The Roman-Indian contact, often celebrated as Indo – Roman trade, being just an aspect peripheral to the agro-pastoral social formation, had no transformational influence upon contemporary productive forces and relations. The entailing argument is that the social formation's dissolution process comprised a series of transitions of

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simultaneity – the transitions of the economy, division of labour, social relations, political structure and religious ideology. They collectively signified the dissolution of ancient social formation of redistributive economy based on kin labour into another dominated by wet-rice agriculture based on hereditary occupation groups slowly getting institutionalised as castes. While these were common to the whole of the Tamil south, the Kerala region witnessed an additional transformation - a major human ecological transformation. This was the traumatic and fundamental transformation of the low lying wetland ecosystem that the landscape owed to the making of paddy-fields out of the waterlogged and water saturated lowlands. Presumably a massive but diffuse task of labour mobilisation, it required several structural, institutional and ideological means of coercion besides the relevant knowledge system and technology of social management that the brahmanical hegemony satisfied, not as a conscious project but as a happening in the historically contingent synergy. The model must have been replicated by the ruling class also as the royal holdings would have us believe.

Notes

1. See V.C. Haimendorf, *The Tribes of India*, Los Angels, CA: University of California Press, 1982. pp.41-2. Also " *New Aspects of the Dravidian Problem*," TC, 2, 2, 1953. F.R. Allchin, Neolithic Cattle-Keepers of South India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. pp. 62ff. For archaeological details specific to the region see, T. Balakrishnan Nair, *The Problem of Dravidian Origins: A Linguistic, Anthropological and Archaeological Approach*, Madras University, 1977. pp. 30 ff. For a study of Iron Age in the Tamil South, see, Guru Raja Rao, *The Megalithic Culture of South India*. Mysore: Prasaranga. 1972. Leshnik, L. S. *South Indian 'Megalithic' Burials: The Pandukal Complex*. Wiesbaden: 1974. Also A. Sundara, *The Early Chamber Tombs of South India*, Delhi, 1975.

2. For details see, Rajan Gurukkal, *Forms of Production and Forces of Change in Ancient Tamil Society, Studies in History:* New Series. 5. 2, 1989. pp.159 ff.

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3. For details see, Rajan Gurukkal, *Characterising Ancient Society: The Case of South India*, Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Ancient India Section, Patiala, 1998. pp. 24-25.

4. For details of the concept see, Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

5. See, Gurukkal, R., *Forms of Production and Forces of Change–*, Op.cit., p.159-61.

6. See, for example, in relation to Sri Lanka, Weerakkody, D.P.M. (1995), *Roman coins of Sri Lanka: some observations, The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 21, Univ. of Peradeniya, 1-30, and Burnett, A. (1998), '*Roman coins from India and Sri Lanka' in Weerakkody*, D.P.M. and Bopearachchi, O. (1998), *Origin, evolution and circulation of foreign coins in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 179-189.

7. Apart from the notorious disappearance of the massive hoard of approximately 75 pounds of coins from Kottayam near Kunnur (Malabar District), in the more recent hoard discovered at Valluvaly (Ernakulam District) only 252 coins remain out of more than 1000.

8. See Rajan Gurukkal and Dick Whitaker, *In Search of Muziris, Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 14 2001, pp.335-50. For a fresh assessment in the light of geological data, see, Shajan, K.P., *Evolution of central Coast and the Formation of Pattanam: A Geo-archaeological Study, in 'The Living Dead and the Lost Knowledge,* International Seminar on 'Muziris Heritage Project: Archaeological Research at Pattanam 2007 & 2008,' Thiruvananthapuram, 2009, pp.29-34.

9. See discussions in Shajan K P, Tomber, R, Selvakumar V, and Cherian P J, *Locating the Ancient Port of Muziris: Fresh Findings from Pattanam, Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Vol. 17, 2004, pp. 312-320. Also, see P.J. Cherian, *Muziris Heritage Project and the Archaeological Research at Pattanam: An Overview, in The Living Dead and the Lost Knowledge*, International Seminar on 'Muziris Heritage Project: Archaeological Research at Pattanam 2007 & 2008,' Thiruvananthapuram, 2009, pp.10-16.

10. See, Tchernia A. (1997), '*Winds and coins: from the supposed discovery of the monsoon to the denarii of Tiberius' in De Romanis*, F. and Tchernia, A. (1997), Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India, New Delhi, 250-276. cf. PME 57.

11. See, L.Casson, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper, in International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, vol. 38 pp.428-29. 2009. Also see, David Kessler and Peter

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Temin, *The organization of the grain trade in the early Roman Empire, Economic History Review*, 60, 2 (2007), pp. 313–332

12. For the relevant concepts see, Claude Meillassoux, *From Reproduction to Production, in Economy and Society*, Vol.1. no.1 (1972) Also, The *Social Organisation of the Peasantry: Economic Basis of Kinship, Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol.1 no.1.

13. Tamil heroic poems refer to what is popularly known as the Corpus of Sangam Literature here. The Corpus include, in its most archaic stratum, some of the anthologies grouped under Ettuttokai and Pattuppattu roughly belonging to 2nd century B.C and A.D 3rd century. U.V. Swamynatha Iyer has edited and published the texts of idylls and anthologies belonging to the Tamil heroic poems, during 1955-57. For an analytical study, see Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, London, 1968. Also see Hart, George L. *Poets of the Tamil Anthologies: Ancient Poems of Love and War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

14. For the texts and the consideration of dating see, R. Nagaswamy, *An Outstanding Epigraphic Discovery in Tamil Nadu*, State Department of Archaeology, Chennai, 1981. Attempts have been made to identify them as belonging to the Kalabhra-s.

15. For the interpretation of the Kali Age in the context of socio-economic transformation, see, B.N.S. Yadava, *The Account of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Indian Historical Review*, Vol. v. 1 & 2. 1978-79. Also, R.S. Sharma, *The Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis*, in B.N. Mukherjee ed. History and Thought: Essays in Honour of A.L. Basham, 1982.

16. See Rajan Gurukkal, "Forms of Production………", Op.cit. pp. 166 ff.

17. Marx's Primacy Thesis is the concept used in the context. For a discussion of the concept see, G.H. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*, Prinston, 1978. pp. 133 ff. W.H. Shah, Marx's Theory of History, Stanford, 1979. pp. 45-56. Anderson, In the *Tracks of Historical Materialism*, London, 1983. pp.18ff. J. Elster, Making Sense of Marx, Cambridge, 1985, p. 36ff. E.O. Wright, et.al. Reconstructing Marxism, London, 1992, pp. 19-46.

18. See the allusions in the songs of Vanjittinai in Purananuru. There are various occasions of raids mentioned in the poems. Vetci, karantai, kānji, tumpai and vanji are the occasions of raids symbolised by flowers. For a discussion of raids see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cattle Raiders of the Sangam Age, Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 1977. See also Rajan Gurukkal, Forms of Production….., Op.cit.

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19. All formal references to land-grants by chieftains appear only in the colophons of the anthologies, the age of which is posterior to the poems by two to three centuries. The colophons to the Patirruppattu contain references to the Ceras granting pirammatāyam to brāhmaṇas. Imayavarampan Netumceralatan is mentioned in the colophon of the 2nd ten to have granted Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanār a pirammatāyam of 500 villages at Umparkkatu. Similarly Celvakatunko Aliyatan is said in another colophon to have granted Kapilar pirammatayam rights over all the villages that the former could see from the top of a hill called Navira. These are obviously exaggerations as in the case of the gifts of gold and other valuables.

20. Several sites like Peruncellur or modern Talipparampa, one of the earliest brahman settlements in northern Kerala, is noted for Iron Age relics in and around it. Payyannur to the west of Peruncellur and Tiruvadur to the northeast are examples. It is certain that the burial complexes predated the brāhmaṇa settlements as consolidated entities. However, the mention of Chellur in an Akam poem by a singer called Mamulanar of about 2nd century B.C., as an age old seat of Vedic ritual, points to the possible existence of brāhmaṇa households in some centres.

21. A cluster of brāhmaṇa households is referred to in the poems as parppanac-ceri. With the tilling clans and non-tilling brāhmaṇas each of these ceris represented a nexus of new relations of production transcending kinship.

22. Unpublished report on the excavation by Y. Subbarayalu and M. R. Raghava Varier, Calicut, 1997.

23. Kīḷkakkaṇakku texts belonging to the fourth to fifth centuries AD that constituted a new class of literature significantly separated from the diction of the heroic tradition. The other category of a radically different source indicating the breakdown of the heroic social formation is a set of two rock inscriptions in Tamil Brāhmī characters of the 5th – 6th centuries AD. Pūlānkuṇichi rock inscriptions. The inscriptions register the orders of a political authority that bears no comparison with that of predatory chieftains. They provide indications of several brāhmaṇa settlements (maṅgalam) having come into existence by the time through royal land-grants, as evidenced by the term pirammatāya. The founding of pirammatāyam, which a century later acquired greater frequency, as evidenced by a number of copper plates registering brahmadeya grants,

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involved superimposition of the miyatci rights over the settlers of the land and transformation of the settlers into kārāṇar. What is significant about the new process was the allocation of a new position called kārānmai to the kuṇi with implications of their alienation from the control of means of production. For details see, Rajan Gurukkal, "Characterising.........," Op.cit.

24. For a detailed consideration of the issue see Rajan Gurukkal, *From Clan and Lineage to Hereditary Occupations and Caste in South India*, in Dev Nathan ed. *From Tribe to Caste*, Shimla, 1997. pp.205-222.

25. For details of this process in the context of the transformations in Tamilakam as antecedents to the formation of the state in Kerala, see Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier eds. *Cultural History of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1999. pp. 257-263.

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7

The Philosophy of the Given and the Created

V. N. Jha

Creation of an Art-Form

It's everybody's experience that the universe of our experience is partly given and partly created by man. A tree is given, a chair is created; flowers are given, garland is created; voice is given, music is created; language is given, and poetry is created. There is something which is given to man, which he has not created and there is something which he creates out of the given. Therefore, our world of experience, consists of both, the given and the created.

It is an accepted fact that what is experienced is a plural world: garden is not flower, flower is not thread; I am also not flower, nor the thread nor the garland; all of them are experienced as having independent existence. But philosophers have asked: are they really different? Different answers have come from different philosophers. Some have said, the experience of plurality is an illusion. They have argued that 'the source Reality' is only one and 'the experienced plurality' is merely a function of the super-imposition of 'many' on 'one'. As if, the One Single Reality has appeared as many. Other philosophers have contested that position and have held that it is not true that 'One' has appeared as 'Many' but, as a matter of fact, the Single Reality has become 'Many' like a single actor playing a number of roles. The earlier position converted 'plurality' as illusion, whereas the second position accorded reality to 'plurality'.

Yet some other philosophers have held that all this appearance of plurality is a flux; there is nothing, which can be characterized as

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'something' in terms of any feature and hence there is no 'entity' as such and it is all void.

Still other philosophers have maintained that the 'plurality' is a reality. Reality is that which can be known and expressed in language. As a matter of fact, had there not been garden, or flowers or thread, or a garland, there cannot arise the knowledge of garden or flower or thread or garland and we cannot refer to them by language. They exist independent of their knowledge and that is why they become the cause of their knowledge.

In Indian context, the first three world-views mentioned above are the world-views of Indian Idealists of various types like Śaṅkarācārya, Vallabhācārya and the Buddhists and the fourth position is that of the Indian Realists like the Naiyāyikas and others.

The Given

The philosophers in the past have made thorough analysis of this given world. Take, for example, the analysis presented by the Indian logicians (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas). For them, the world is a padārtha or an 'entity', which can be a referent of a linguistic term (padasya arthaḥ). Such an entity can be either positive (bhāva) or negative (abhāva). Please note that abhāva is also an entity. Thus, as a 'tree' is an entity similarly, the 'absence' of that 'tree' is also an entity.

A positive entity is classified in six sets of entities such as substance (dravya), quality (guṇa), action (karman), universal (sāmānya) particular (viśeṣa), and inherence (samavāya). Each one of these sets is further classified into sub-sets. Thus, substance is of seven kinds, namely, earth (pṛthvī), water (ap), fire (tejas), air (marut), ether (ākāśa), time (kāla), space (diś), soul (ātman), and mind (manas). Qualities are twenty-four: color (rūpa), taste (rasa), smell (gandha), touch (sparśa), number (saṅkhyā), measure (parimāṇa), contact (saṁyoga), divison (vibhāga), separateness (pṛthaktva), moisture (sneha), heaviness (gurutva), fluidity (dravatva), remoteness (paratva), nearness (aparatva), knowledge (buddhi), happiness

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(sukha), unhappiness (duḥkha), desire (icchā), hatred (dveṣa), volition (prayatna), merit (dharma), demerit (adharma), impression (saṁskāras) and sound (śabda).

Actions are of five kinds namely, going upward (ūrdhvagamana), going downward (adhaḥpatana), shrinking (ākuñcana), spreading (prasāraṇa) and going (gamana).

Class property or generic property or universal (sāmānya) is only one, like pot-ness, tree-ness and so on.

Particulars (viśeṣa) are endless and they are located in all permanent substances. Each of these particulars distinguishes its locus i.e. one permanent substance from the other permanent substances.

Inherence (samavāya) is a single 'permanent relationship', which is accepted in the following five cases:

1. between a quality and its locus
2. between an action and its locus
3. between a universal and its locus
4. between a whole and its parts, and
5. between a particular (viśeṣa) and its locus.

Absence (abhāva) is broadly of two kinds, mutual absence (anyonyābhāva) and relational absence (saṁsargābhāva). Relational absence (saṁsargābhāva) is further classified into three types: pre-absence (prāgabhāva), destruction (dhvaṁsa) and absolute absence (atyantābhāva). This is our given world with which we behave all our life.

Behaving with the World

Behavior presupposes knowledge of that with which we behave. Naturally, we would like to know how we know this given world. The Indian logicians, therefore, took up this issue of the process of knowing the world. This is what is known as epistemology or pramāṇa-śāstra. The logicians arrived at the conclusion after analysis that there are four ways of knowing the world:

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(1) Perception (pratyakṣa), Inference (anumāna), Analogy (upamāna) and Language (śabda). Let us see briefly how these instruments of knowing work.

Internalising the World

We are given with five external sense-organs made of five primordial elements (pañca-mahābhūtas) to have direct access to the external world and the sixth sense-organ called 'mind' to have direct access to our internal world like cognition, desire, volition, happiness, unhappiness, hatred, love, kindness, merit (puṇya), demerit (pāpa) and our impressions (saṁskāra) left behind by our experiences.

It is not the case that we have access to the world, both external and internal, only when it is in direct contact with these six sense-organs. We can know them even if, sometimes, the world is beyond the reach of a sense-organ. The instrument or the process of knowing, in such a situation, is called inference (anumāna). An inference works on the basis of an invariable relationship (vyāpti) between the ground (hetu) on the basis of which we want to know 'what we want to know (sādhya) i.e. the world'.

Language captures Reality

We also know the world through language. But, the understanding of language depends on the knowledge of the relationship between a sign and what a sign stands for. The Indian tradition has discussed this issue in great detail and had discovered various ways of knowing this relationship between a word and its meaning. The following verse presents a list of such means of knowing that relationship:

śaktigrahaṁ vyākaraṇopamāna-kośāptavākyātvyavahārataśca,
vākyasya śeṣād vivṛtervadanti sānnidhyataḥ siddha-padasya vṛddhāḥ.

'Elders who have analyzed the process of the verbal understanding say that the primary relationship between a word and its meaning is known from grammar, analogy, dictionary, reliable speaker's statement, language in use, usages in literature, paraphrase, and from the proximity of a known word.'

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Here śakti means the primary relationship between a morpheme and its referent.

It may be noted that upamāna pramāṇa is one of the means of knowing the relation between a morpheme and its referent. Similarly, language is one of the means to know the world. Language encodes thought.

Thought precedes Language

The picture is going to be clearer if we analyze this a bit closely. While presenting the epistemology of the perceptual cognition of Gautama, the author of the *Nyāyasūtra*, observes :

Indriyārtha-sannikarṣotpannaṁ jñānam avyapadeśyamavyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam. (*Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.4)

'A cognition which is produced out of the contact between a sense-organ and an object and which is not expressible in language, which is not erroneous, and which is determinate in character is pratyakṣa.'

While interpreting the clause 'which is not expressible in language' (avyapadeśyam) Vātsyāyana, the commentator on *Gautama-sūtras* , writes:

'When a perception occurs, it does not take the help of the knowledge of the relation between the object seen and its name. There is no difference between a perception of an object prior to the knowledge of its name and the perception of that object, after the name of that thing is known. It is only at the time of sharing one's thought with others, one requires language. Because without knowledge, one cannot express in language.'

This analysis amounts to saying that language comes to play only after a cognition has arisen. In other words, a speaker encodes his cognition after it has arisen. Thus, a cognition must arise prior to language.

Language precedes Thought

Obviously, this is the refutation of the view that no cognition is possible without language, which has found expression later on in the following verse of Bhartṛhari (1.123), the celebrated author of the *Vākyapadīya*:

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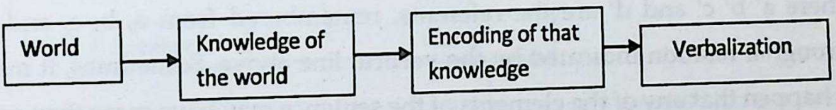
na so'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte,
ānubiddham iva jñānaṁ sarvaṁ śabdena bhāsate.

'There is no knowledge without language. All knowledges are intertingled with language and so everything in this world gets illumined only by language.'

The Nyāya view is just opposite, as we have seen above. This implies that a speaker first acquires his knowledge or cognition of the world and then verbalizes it by encoding it in a language known to him. This can be theorized as follows :

Verbalization of Thought



This is how a text comes into being.

Decoding Natural Language

Once the verbalization has taken place through the utterance or through writing, it can reach a hearer or reader. Now, another process begins in the hearer or the reader and that is the process of decoding the text, sentence by sentence. This process of decoding is called the process of śābdabodha (understanding of a sentence-meaning) in the Indian tradition. A sentence, when decoded, results into verbal understanding or knowledge of the sentence-meaning (śābdabodha).

The following is the process through which a sentence-meaning is understood:

Stage I reception of a sentence (padajñāna)
Stage II remembering the referent of each morpheme of that sentence (padārtha-smaraṇa)
Stage III inferring the intention of the speaker (tātparyajñāna)

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Stage IV relating the remembered meanings (padārtha-anvaya)

Stage V understanding the relations among the remembered referents (śābdabodha).

To illustrate,

Suppose, there is a sentence (a + b + c + d) consisting of four morphemes – a, b, c, and d. The following will be the picture, with regard to the process of verbal understanding:

Step 1 a + b + c + d

Step II a + b + c + d

a′ b′ c′ d′

where a′ b′ c′ and d′ are the referents, remembered from a, b, c, and d through a relation indicated by the vertical line above. Sometimes, it may so happen that any of the elements of the sentence may have more than one meaning, say,

```
    a
   / \
  a'  a"
```

In such a situation, both the meanings will come to the mind. But if both the meanings are not intended by the speaker or writer, how to keep one and cancel the other ?

This will be settled in the next step by knowing the intention of the speaker and thereby eliminating either a′ or a″. Thus

```
Step III  a + b + c + d
          |   |   |   |
          a'  b'  c'  d'
```

where a has been eliminated after knowing the intention of the speaker.

```
Step IV   a + b + c + d
          |   |   |   |
          a' - b' - c' - d'
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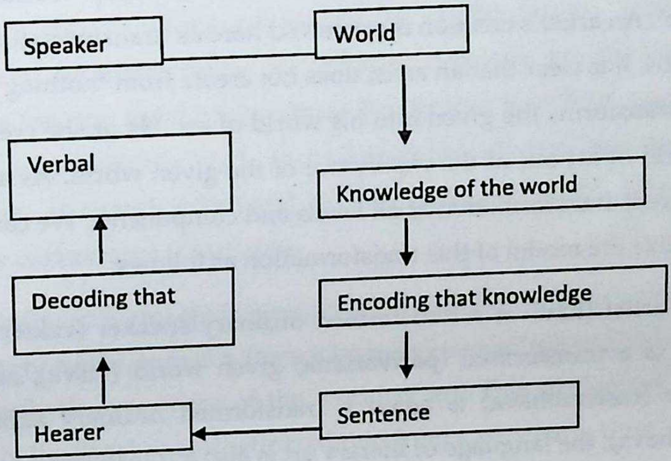
where relations among a′ , b′, c′ and d′ have been identified.

Step V | a′- b′- c′- d′- |

Where, the rectangular box is the resultant knowledge or verbal understanding of the sentence-meaning (anvayabodha).

The Model of Communication

This knowledge of the hearer or reader is expected to be identical with the knowledge of the speaker or writer for establishing a rapport between them. Unless this happens, there can be no rapport between a speaker and a hearer and consequently no communication can take place. This model of communication can be presented as follows:



This is the story of communicating with ordinary language with the ordinary 'given' world of our ordinary experience. With this background, now we shall turn to the analysis of the world of literary art, aesthetic experience of that world of art, language of art, appreciation of an art-form and finally establishing a rapport between an artist and a connoisseur.

The Philosophy of the Created

As against the given world of our experience, there is the created world of our experience. An art-form, be it music, or dance, or painting or sculpture or a literary art-form like drama, poetry, short story, novel and the like

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is created by human being unlike the ordinary world of our experience which is simply received by us. That, the world of literary art is created by a literary artist, is clearly stated in the following oft-quoted verse:

āpāre kāvya-saṁsāre kavir ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ,
yathāsmai rocate visvaṁ tathainaṁ parivartate.

'A literary artist alone is the creator of the word of literary art. He or she transforms the given world into a world of art as per his or her liking.'

Here, the word kāvya means 'literary art-form', kāvya-saṁsāra means 'the world of literary art', kavi stands for 'a literary artist' and he is conceptualized as 'the creator' (prajāpati) of the world of his literary art-form. The word viśva here stands for the 'ordinary world of our experience'. An artist's creation is conceived here as 'transformation of the given'. Thus, it is clear that an artist does not create from 'nothing', rather he or she transforms the given into his world of art. He or she creates his or her world of art out of the experience of the given world. As a matter of fact, there is transformation at all levels and components. We can easily conceptualize the model of this transformation as follows:

A literary artist (kavi) is a transformed ordinary speaker (vaktṛ); kāvya - saṁsāra is a transformed (parivartana) given world (viśva); aesthetic experience (rasānubhava) is again a transformed ordinary experience (viśvānubhava); the language of literary art is also a transformed ordinary language, and the listener or reader of literary art (kāvya) is also not an ordinary listener (śrotṛ) or reader, but a transformed listener i.e. a connoisseur (sahṛdaya).

Creation is, thus, 'transformation through imagination'. Classical Indian thinkers have also gone into the analysis of how such transformation takes place, but we shall not go into those details here.

The artist gives an aesthetic shape to the given world through a beautiful arrangement and re-arrangement of the given and thus transforms an

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ordinary world into a world of art. Thus, his creation is nothing more than a beautiful arrangement and rearrangement of the given.

In the words of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the great logician of Kashmir of 9th century, AD -

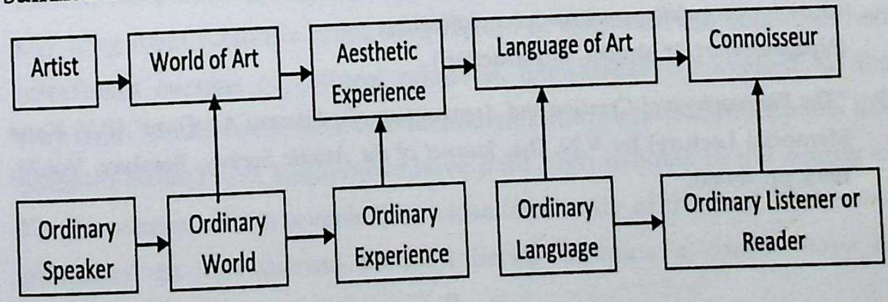
'How are we capable of creating anything new? If at all there is anything new, it is nothing more than an arrangement of the given.'

Needless to say, a literary artist is both, an ordinary speaker as well as a literary artist. He or she is born with the capacity of encoding his ordinary experience of an ordinary world and when he or she creates a world of art, he or she extends this capacity to encode an aesthetic experience into language. When he or she finds difficulty in encoding the aesthetic experience into an ordinary language, he or she creates 'a language of literary art', by transforming the ordinary language into the language of art. Here too, the artist brings about the desired transformation through various arrangements and re-arrangements, giving rise to various ornaments of speech (alaṅkāra), modes, dicta etc. which give joy to a sensitive connoisseur (sahṛdaya).

As, an ordinary language is required to encode an ordinary experience of an ordinary world, so also a literary language is required to give expression to an aesthetic experience of the world of art. This distinction is clearly known to the Sanskrit aesthetic tradition from a very early time.

The Theory of Aesthetic Communication

This theory of creation and communication of an art-form can be summarised in the following diagram:



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Here the vertical arrow indicates 'transformation' and horizontal arrow indicates 'direction of communication'. While ordinary communication takes place between and ordinary speaker and an ordinary listener, the aesthetic communication takes place between an artist and a connoisseur.

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8

Vyaṅgyavyākhyā: Creation of Sub-texts in Theatre

K. G. Paulose

Ānandavardhana propounded the theory of dhvani in Kashmir in the 9th c. CE. He had to face stiff resistance from his contemporaries at home. Luckily for him, Abhinavagupta in his Locana set up dhvani in strong foundation. Ever since dhvani attained a pivotal role in Indian aesthetic thought. This is known to all. But the outside world did not know that Ānandavardhana had a strong champion in the distant southern most tip of Indian peninsula who applied the principle of dhvani to theatre and paved the way for the survial of *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s prayogamārga. The royal dramatist Kulaśekhara (978-1036 CE) who ruled the Chera country with his capital at Crangannore realised the potential of suggestion in theatre and revolutionised the performance traditon of Sanskrit dramas. His creative insights are recorded in the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* (VV). VV is to theatre what *Locana* is to poetry. The significance of VV is not fully recognised as it still remains in manuscripts.[1]

Cultural exchanges between Kashmir and Kerala

The Kṣitiratnamālā an old treatise puts on record that Perumals to rule over Kerala, have been brought from Kashmir, Avanti and Chola.[2] Whether any king from Kashmir ruled over Kerala or not, both the countries had interfluent current of cultural relations. Śaṅkarācārya travelled all the way from Kerala to establish the āśrama at Badarinath. Kashmir poets like Śambhu Ballaṭa and Kṣemendra have paid high tributes to the beauty of Kerala women which reveals their close familiarity of the land. *Nyāyasāra*, published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series contains a commentary by

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Vasudeva who is the son of Sūryasūri of Kashmir. *Alaṅkāraśāstra* is another work which has a vṛtti by Maṅkuka, a minister of Kashmir. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, the 9th century Mahākāvya of Dāmodaragupta, a minister of Kashmir is known well to the cākyārs of Kerala and they draw verses from it during their narration. No wonder, *Dhvanyāloka* caught the attention of Kulaśekhara soon after its inception. He is almost a contemporary of Abhinava though we are not sure whether he had seen his *Locana*. Anyhow, the fact remains that the manuscript of *Abhinavabhāratī* was preserved in Kerala.

Authors' silence

Kulaśekhara was an voracious reader, good critic and enthusiastic connoisseur. He was a master of the *Mahābhārata* and composed two dramas drawing theme from it. At the same time he was a sceptic with regard to the customary mode of presentation of Sanskrit dramas. He asked to himself - why do people come to theatre? They are already aware of the sequence of events of the story. For those who know the story nothing is there to hold on till the end. The progression is on expected lines as described in the source-text. They have no anxiety regarding the 'what' in the story. What they want to know is the 'how' of it. How this particular event is presented by this actor or his troupe? Conventional methods are not sufficient to satisfy the audience if their concern is with the 'how' of it. It was in this predicament that Ānandavardhana came for his help. An actor will have infinite prospects if he presents the silence hidden by great dramatists in their words. To present the explicit is not a great thing; what is great is to interepret the implicit in the words.

Excited over the new revelation he called the actors and scholars around him. He told them-

> 'Wise men say that poetry endowed with suggestive sense is commendable. Hence I wrote two dramas pregnant with inner meaning. I will take the role of an actor, show you how it is to be represented on stage. [3]

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He did it. He himself enacted the role of every character and demonstrated to them the mode of presentation. A scholar in his court wrote down these details and handed over to us. This, perhaps, would be the first stage-script by the dramatist himself for his own dramatic text. Author composes not only the text, but also sub-texts! This opened a new epoch in the history of Sanskrit theatre. Kulaśekhara has made two innovations in the prevailing form of performance - retrospection and suggestive acting.

Retrospection

Texts give the following direction at the entry of every character - tataḥ praviśati..... Enters after 'that'; after 'what'? The audience have every right to know it. But the text is silent. Hence Kulaśekhara insists that every actor at the time of his/her first entry shall introduce the character to the audience and narrate the past events up to the present moment. In the *Subhadrādhanañjaya* (SD), for example, Dhanañjaya, when he comes first to the stage shall convey the audience that the Pāṇḍavas were living in the forest, Nārada had made some arrangements for the five brothers to live with Pāñcālī, he had to break it, as an act of atonement he started for the year-long pilgrimage and at the end of it he is moving to Dvārakā to meet Subhadrā being enamoured by her charm. This is pūrvasambandha - connecting the present to the past. Only after establishing the character in this way, can he start to enact his role prescribed in the text.

An actor has to confront with several problems here. He has not a text to depend on for pūrvasambandha. The acting therefore, is devoid of verbal rendering. This makes matters more complicated. But this gives the actor an added advantage too. He is liberated from the constraints of the text. There is a challenge in it. He has to build up the castle on his own. There is another problem, perhaps, more daring. While recountering the past events the actor who has already imitated a character turns out to be a narrator. He cannot make it effective merely by reporting, he has to change to the roles of the persons and their actions to make the narration lively and dramatic. Dhanañjaya transfigures, in course of narration, to Nārada, Dharmaputra,

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Kuntī so on and so forth. The actor on stage, transforms himself to a stage where in all these reflected characters, pass through. This is an exhilarating trans-dramatic experience both for the actor and the spectators. This phenomenon, is technically called pakarnnāṭṭam - multiple impersonation. This is contrary to the concepts of Bharata. Imitated characters are not permitted to assume in the same costume, roles of reflected characters. Moreover, dance, not drama is exempted from the specification of āhārya.

This process of retrospection, enacted by a single character elevates the multi-charactered conventional stage to the highest level of artistry. The role of actor in a performance also is re-defined. Actor enters the stage imitating a particular character, now two more functions are imposed on him - that of narrator and of interpreter. The actor in the conventional Sanskrit stage is an imitator, in the innovative stage he is a narrator and interpreter too.[4]

Sub-texts

Great poets often speak through their silence. Hidden in every text are hundreds of sub-texts. Actor now has the added responsiblitiy of de-coding the inner-meanings to the audience. There are different layers among the audience. Kulaśekhara classifies them into two - prekṣaka and nānāloka.[5] The former are learned scholars, the others belong to the ordinary folk. The latter will be satisfied by the external meaning. The prekṣaka requires special treatment. After communicating the outer meaning through fourfold acting, actor shall interact with the prekṣakas and convey the suggested sense through the movement of eyes. He shall not use words, or even gesticulation to convey the hidden meaning. Netrābhinaya alone is permitted for suggested sense. This can be well illustrated by a sentence from the introductory part of SD. Vidūṣaka enters and pray for alms.

Bhagavanto maharṣayaḥ! bhikṣām datta!

Give alms! oh! sages.

Vidūṣaka enacts this part pretending to be hungry. The audience, pleased, gives a big applause. The actor now concentrates on the prekṣakas in front of him. By subtle movements of eyes he tells them that what he wants is not

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food, but something else. The feminine gender in the word bhikṣā suggests a woman, i.e. Subhadrā. She is deeply in love with Arjuna. But her elder brother has promised her to someone else. We have come to seek her hand as alms for Arjuna. The actor can interact with the prekṣaka in this way until both are satisfied.

Ānandavardhana accepted the vyaṅgya-vyañjaka relation in poetry. Similarly external meaning - four-fold acting correlation is conventional and accepted by all. Kulaśekhara's creative interpretation is the vyaṅgya-vyañjaka relation. Subhadrāvṛttānta is vyaṅgya, vyañjaka is the feminine gender. Netrābhinaya stands for vyañjanāvyāpāra.

Kulaśekhara's theatre visualised the immense potential of suggestion and created many sub-texts with in the dramatic text. In the post-kulaśekhara period actors added other plays also to the reportory. The *Bhagavadajjuka* and *Mattavilāsa* were already popular here. The plays now ascribed to Bhāsa appeared on Kerala stage during this period, i.e. 11th-12th centuries of CE. The *Nāgānanda* and *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* were also added to the stock. This was a period of hectic activity. Malayalam language entered the Sanskrit threatre at this stage paving the way for the emergence of Kūṭiyāṭṭam as an autonomous theatre-form. The most important addition after the evolution of Sanskrit drama to Kūṭiyāṭṭam was, of course, Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* which the present editor would like to place to the 13th-14th centuries of CE.[6] All the other classifical forms of Kerala - Kṛṣṇanāṭṭam, Kathakaḷi and Mohiniyāṭṭam were highly influenced by the acting techniques of Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The classical theatre of Kerala rests on the solid foundation laid down in *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā*.

A Break?

Is the VV mode of acting of Sanskrit drama a break from the NŚ tradition of acting? Certainly not; instead, it is an improvisation of the acting techniques which Bharata had prescribed in NŚ.

Bharata's treatment of abhinaya is elaborate and exhaustive. He adopts several principles for its classification - two-fold divisions to nāṭyadharmī

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and lokadharmī; four-fold to āṅgika, vācika, sātvika and āhārya; again two-fold to sāmānya and citra. Bharata elaborates sāmānyābhinaya in the 22nd chapter of NŚ. Sāmānya can be split as 'sama+anya'; sama because all the components like āṅgika are brought to a harmonious blending and anya-unique, because it is pleasing at the same time. The process is that of equalisation of the various ingredients employed in the play. The experience on stage is compared to that of fire-wheel (alātacakra) an illusion of totality. It is this totality that Bharata signifies by the term sāmānya. Other forms of abhinayas are distinct units, this is the process of homogenisation, samānīkaraṇa.[7]

Sāmānyābhinayas of śārīra are six-fold - vākya, sūca, aṅkura, śākhā, nāṭyāyita and nivṛtyaṅkura.[8] Of these two are important for us in this study - aṅkura and nivṛtyaṅkura. The former is the expression of the inner heart deeply permeated by satva. In the first act of *Ratnāvalī* where Sāgarikā is excluded from paying homage to Kāma, she hides herself behind a tree and whispers - 'I will also offer flowers to Kāma'. This gives the actress ample occasion to give expression to her suppressed feelings. She desires to love Udayana and to be loved by him. This is the sprout - aṅkura - of love in her heart. Such situations give the actress opportunity to exhibit her histrionic talents through improvisation. Nivṛtyaṅkura, in essence, is the same; the only difference is that the expression comes as a response to the words of others. In the second Act of the same play, Vidūṣaka asks the king whether Sāgarikā did please his eyes? Overhearing this, Sāgarikā eagerly awaits the king's answer. Nivṛtyaṅkura is the echo of other's words in one's heart. It sprouts when the dialogue is suspended (nivṛtta).

In both these instances the actor is liberated from the text. He can reveal his inner self through imaginative acting. This bud - aṅkura-of Bharata bloomed forth as manodharma in Kulaśekhara. Imaginative acting is an extention and elaboration of homogenisation in performance.

Theatre reached this stage of perfection after passing through several phases in its development. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta 8th c. CE

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shows a definite improvement from the NŚ scheme of acting. He wrote KM in the form of practical lessons imparted by a senior courtesan to a young girl for initiating her to the profession. In the course of her discussion she gives the details of the enactment of the first act of *Ratnāvalī*. Three points are relevant to us in this performance.

i. Nāṭya is presented, by three young girls, in the form of a dance.
ii. The performance deviates from the text.
iii. Importance is given to sātvikābhinaya.

The prince compliments the actress for her talent to delineate the subtle difference between karuṇa and vipralambha though they share the same emotional complex. The great Māṇi Mādhava Cākyār used to explain the difference thus - the enactment of karuṇa ends with despair in the eyes; that of vipralambha with a ray of hope indicating reunion. The above three characteristics were developed later, in Kūṭiyāṭṭam theatre.

Kerala being the land of Advaita, Abhinava's Śaiva philosophy did not produce any impact here; but not so his aesthetics. The *Locana* gives the details of the mode of acting a verse in *Ratnāvaḷī*.[9]

> If I gaze at this creeper, as if viewing a lady who is overcome by love, queen Vāsavadattā will get angry.

This is the description of a creeper in the garden; what is suggested is his love for Sāgarikā. The instruction regarding the mode of acting of this verse is this -

'The contextual meaning (creeper) has to be communicated through elaborate padārthābhinaya, the suggested sense (beloved) shall be indicated by subtle movements of eyes and vākyārthābhinaya. It could be wrong to give no gesture at all to the second meaning.'

The prayogamārga of contextual and suggested meanings became a pet theme for Kerala actors and we can safely assume that Abhinavagupta anticipated the acting mode of Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

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Bharata's primary concern was nāṭya; Kulaśekhara transformed it to āṭṭam (dance). Nāṭya is prose, dance adds poetry to it.[10]

NŚ tradition gives stress on rasa. It is the end product of a situation. Kulaśekhara is concerned more with internalisation of emotions - the mental process leading to that situation. This mānasī avasthā, the actor presents through imaginative acting - manodharma. This leads to multiple impersonation - pakarnnāṭṭam. Manodharma and pakarnnāṭṭam are the two cardinal concepts that Kerala contributed to the national theatre.

In India, dṛśya and śravya passed through separate streams. Bharata expounded rasa and provided a medium for its expression - abhinaya. Poetry could not accommodate rasa, though it aspired much, in its scheme for want of an appropriate medium. Ānandavardhana provided the much awaited medium for rasa in poetry - dhvani. It was left to Kulaśekhara to apply dhvani to theatre. Theatre already had one medium - abhinaya. By making it the touchstone, Kulaśekhara made dhvani sharp and subtle too. That is the importance of netrābhinaya and the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* mode of performance.

Notes

1. MSS T. 281 of Oriental Manuscript Library, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram. The present editor published with English translation the introductory part of VV in two instalments in the Purnatrayi journal of Government Sanskrit College, Thripunithura, Vol XIX, XX -1993 The complete text with English translation, introduction and exhaustive notes is under preparation.
2. *A souvenir of the Silver Jubilee celebration* of the Department of publication of oriental manuscripts, Trivandrum, 1934
3. ध्वनियुक् काव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः।
   एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी।।
   द्रष्टव्या भवता सेयं नाटकलक्षणवेदिना।
   तां पश्यन्नबधार्यैषा सदसद्वेति कथ्यताम्।।
   This is the request made by the royal dramatist to the scholar.

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4. For more details *Kūṭiyāṭṭam Theatre - The Earliest Living Tradition* - K. G . Paulose, Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi.

5. There are two layers amog the audience -the elite and the ordinary. The former is known as prekṣaka. Kulaśekhara defines prekṣaka-

   के पुनः प्रेक्षका इति चेत्-
   अष्टौ दश च विद्यास्ताः नाट्यवेदो यथाविधि।
   स्मरशास्त्रं च यैर्ज्ञातं तान् विदुः प्रेक्षकान् बुधाः।।

6. Kulaśekhara does not refer to Śaktibhadra, though he refers to many other dramatists. The earliest reference available to Śaktibhadra is in *Naṭāṅkuśa* of the 14 c.CE. The author of *Naṭāṅkuśa* criticises some of practices in kūtiyāṭṭam. He has grat respect for Śaktibhadra अस्माकं प्रबन्धकृदपि महानेव 'यत्कृतं नाटकं चूडामणिः चूडामणिस्सताम्। सः कस्यैव न मान्योऽयं शक्तिभद्रो महाकविः।' Internal evidences also support post-Kulaśekhara period for Śaktibhadra.

7. *Bhāsa and Bharathā*, Dr. K . D. Tripathi, Bhāsasopānam - 1994

8. षडात्मकस्तु शारीरो वाक्यं सूचात्मकस्तथा।
   शाखा नाट्यायितं चैव निवृत्यङ्कुर एव च।।
   हृदयस्थो निर्वचनैरङ्गाभिनयः कृतो निपुणसाध्यः
   सूचैवैत्पत्तिकृतो विज्ञेयस्त्वङ्कुराभिनयः ।। NŚ, XXII

9. उद्दामौत्कलिकां विपाण्डुररुचं प्रारब्धजृम्भां क्षणा-
   दायासं श्वसनोद्गमैरविरलैरातन्वतीमात्मनः।
   अद्योद्यानलतामिमां समदनां नारीमिवान्यां ध्रुवं
   पश्यन् कोपविपाटलद्युति मुखं देव्या करिष्याम्यहम्।।

   अभिनयोऽत्र प्राकरणिके प्रतिपदम्। अप्राकरणिके तु वाक्यार्थाभिनयेनोपाङ्गादिना। सर्वथा नाभिनय इत्यलमवान्तरेण।

   'The outer meaning has to be enacted word- by-word. An indication by side glance will be enough for the implied.' Abhinavagupta extends here the vācya-vyaṅgya paradigm of poetry to theatre.

10. Bharata wrote for nāṭya, Kerala turned nāṭya to āṭṭam. Āṭṭam is dance, nṛtya.

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अजपारहस्यम्

व्रजकिशोर स्वाई

आगमस्य तन्त्रत्वेन निगमस्य च श्रुतित्वेन प्रतिपत्तौ तत्रभवतो महर्षेः हारीतस्य वचनमद्यत्वे प्रमाणत्वेनाभ्युपगम्यते विद्वत्तल्लजैः। तत्र श्रुत्यनुगामित्वेन परां प्रसिद्धिं लभमानैर्योगसूत्रकारैः तत्र भवद्भिर्महाभारतादिपरमप्रमाणभूतग्रन्थराशिप्रणयितृत्वेन विशिष्टैर्बादरायणैश्च श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासु जपस्य यज्ञत्वेन घोषणमकारि किन्तु अजपात्वेनागमशास्त्रेऽतिविशिष्टतत्त्वपदवीमधिरूढस्य साधनस्य निगूढं रहस्यं समेषां विदुषां वैदुष्यमकरन्दं निर्गलयितुं प्रतिपदं प्रयत्यते इति हेतुना अस्मिन् सन्दर्भे अजपारहस्यं किञ्चिदुद्घाटयितुं प्रयासो विधीयते।

१. अतिप्राचीनकालादारभ्य आध्यात्मिकसाधनायां जपस्य महिमा साधकसम्प्रदायेषु अतिप्रसिद्धिं प्राप्नुवन् विद्यते। वस्तुतः सर्वप्रकारकाध्यात्मिककर्मसु जपस्य स्थानमत्युच्चैर्वर्तते। यज्ञा नानाविधाः सन्ति प्रतियज्ञमेकैकशो विशेषफलनिर्देश अस्ति। किन्तु यज्ञतात्पर्यमभिगृह्णानस्य जपस्य माहात्म्यमितरयज्ञमाहात्म्यापेक्षया बहुभिर्गुणैरधिकं प्रतिभाति। सन्दर्भेऽस्मिन् जपस्य तत्त्वफलयोर्विचारो नैवास्माकमभिलषितः, अपितु जपसाधनायां यत्परमं लक्ष्यं तदजपासाधनात्वेन विषयस्य प्रसङ्गे प्राचीनानां पण्डितानां पदाङ्कमनुसृत्य स्वानुभवबुद्धिसामर्थ्येन यथासम्भवं संक्षेपेण किञ्चिदुपस्थाप्यते। जपस्य वास्तविकं विज्ञानमज्ञात्वाऽपि अनेकेषां साधकानां जपविषयकस्वल्पाधिकसामान्यज्ञानमस्त्येव। किन्तु अजपाविषये साधारणतो विशेषज्ञानं प्रायेणातिसीमितं प्रतिभाति। स्त्रीपुरुषाणां बालादिवृद्धानां भावुकादिभावहीनानां समेषामधिकारिणां कृतेऽजपासाधनाया उपयोगिता वर्तते। नानायुगेषु इयं साधना नानाभिधानैः परिचिता। यद्वा भवतु, आध्यात्मिकसाधनायाः क्रमिकेतिहासस्य पर्यालोचनयाऽयं विषयः स्पष्टात्स्पष्टतरो भवेत्।

२. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे स्थित्वा यदि अवलोक्यते तर्हि दृश्यते यत् इयमेका अत्यन्तं सरला साधना - अत्र न काऽपि विचिकित्सा वर्तते। वस्तुतः इतरा काऽपि साधना इतः सरलतरा भवितुं नार्हति। मनुष्यस्य देहधारणादारभ्य नाम मातृगर्भाद्विनिःसृतेरारभ्य प्रयाणकालं यावत् सम्पूर्णजीवनावधौ या स्वाभाविकी श्वासप्रश्वासक्रिया चलति तां प्रकृत्य अजपासाधना अनुष्ठीयते। एतदर्थं किमपि विशेषमुपकरणं काचित् कृत्रिमा प्रक्रिया, किमपि विशेषमनुशासनमावश्यकं न भवति। यथैव

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श्वासप्रश्वासौ ज्ञानेन अज्ञानेन च सर्वदैव प्रवाहितौ स्तः, श्वासप्रश्वासाभ्यां सह संश्लिष्य अजपाक्रिया तथैव स्वप्ने सुषुप्तौ च समभावेन चलति। इयं क्रिया यदा आबद्धा भवति तदा चेष्टां मनोयोगं चाप्रतीक्ष्य अनपेक्ष्य च स्वयं निरन्तरतया चलति। सुतरामियमेका सरलसाधनत्वेन वर्तत इति अवगमनाय किञ्चित् काठिन्यं नास्ति। किन्तु सरलायां सत्यामपि इयं साधना अत्यन्तं निगूढा। अस्या विज्ञानमत्यन्तं गभीररहस्यपूर्णम्। अस्याः फलमितरकृत्रिमसाधनानुरूपं न भवति। निष्क्रियपरमसत्तायाः हृदयमाश्रित्य या क्रिया विश्वे निरन्तरं चलति, अजपा मनुष्यदेहे तस्याः प्रतिच्छायामात्रम्। इयं स्वभावतः साधनैवा प्रकृतौ व्यष्टिभूमौ समष्टौ च समरूपेण अस्याः प्रभावः परिलक्ष्यते। अजपाविज्ञानस्य सम्यग्रूपेण अवगमनेन तत्त्वज्ञानस्य पूर्णोदयोऽवश्यम्भावी। इयं साधना यथा स्वाभाविकी, अस्याः फलमपि तथैव स्वाभाविकी नाम स्वभावेन स्थितिलाभः।

३. भगवता बुद्धेन अतिप्राचीनकाले 'आनापानसति' इति नाम्ना या साधना तदीयान्तरङ्ग-भक्तमण्डल्यां प्रचारिता सा अजपासाधनायाः एकमङ्गत्वेन प्रतीयते। परवर्तिभिः बौद्धाचार्यैः बहुषु स्थानेषु अस्या विश्लेषणं कृतम्। अतिविस्तारपूर्वकञ्च आलोचनं कृतम्। गौरक्षनाथप्रभृतिभिरि-तरैर्नाथयोगिभिरजपासाधनाया महिमा ज्ञात एव। तैरजपासाधनया सिद्धिं लब्ध्वा मुक्तकण्ठमस्या महिमकीर्तनं कृतम्। नाथसम्प्रदायस्य साहित्ये नैकेषु स्थानेषु अजपासाधानायाः माहात्म्यविषये भूरिप्रमाणं विद्यमानमास्ते। किंवदन्तीत एतत् ज्ञायते यत् महायोगिना नानकमहोदयेन राज्ञे शिवनाथाय तदीयाधिकारानुरूपाः परम्परोपदेशाः दापिताः। एतदुपदेशपरम्पराभ्यन्तरे प्रथमतो रामनाम्नः तदनन्तरं प्रणवस्य अन्ततो गत्त्वा हंसरूपस्य अजपामन्त्रस्य उल्लेखो दृश्यते। अजपागायत्री, हंसविद्या, आत्ममन्त्रः, प्राणयज्ञः (अपाने जुह्वति प्राणम् = गीता) इति प्रभृतिभिः नामभिः वैदिक-पौराणिक-तान्त्रिकसाहित्येषु इयं साधना सुनिर्दिष्टा वर्तते।

४. कैश्चिदेतदप्युच्यते यत् श्रीचैतन्येन रायरामानन्दाय स्वरूपदामोदराय, शिखिमहान्तये, तदीयभगिन्यै माधव्यै एतत्साधनाया गुह्योपदेशः प्रदत्त। कबीर-तूलसीदासप्रभृतीनां महाजनानां सिद्धेः आधारत्वेन एतत्साधनाया अनुष्ठानमवर्तत। प्रायेण साधकसम्प्रदाये इयं प्रसिद्धिरस्ति। साम्प्रतिकयुगे योगी गम्भीरनाथः विजयकृष्णगोस्वामी अभिरामपरमहंसः पञ्चशिखसम्प्रदायस्य अच्युतानन्दादयः ये विशिष्टाः साधकाः एतत्साधनाया माहात्म्यं ज्ञापितवन्तः। निःश्वासप्रश्वासाभ्यां साधने कृते अतिसहजोपायेन यदतिदुर्लभमहातत्त्वस्योन्मीलनं भवेत् तदत्र अनेकेषु स्थानेषु प्रकाशितम्। एतेषां भक्तैः शिष्यैश्च अजपासाधनाया महत्वसम्बन्धे नानाकथानकप्रचारः कृतः। इयं साधना अनादिकालादारभ्य प्रचलिता वर्तते। सदाशिवो ब्रह्मा, नारदः वसिष्ठः ध्रुवः. प्रह्लादः अपरे केचन च इमां साधनामधिगतवन्तः। साधकसमाजे एतादृशः प्रवादो वर्तते। वस्तुतः इतरेषां सकलप्रकारकसाधनावत् अस्याः साधनाया आदिगुरुः भगवान् स्वयमित्यत्र नास्ति कोऽपि संशयलेशः।

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५. शिशुर्यदा मातृगर्भात् निःसरति एवं च यदा तस्य नाभिच्छेदनं भवति तदा प्रभृति तस्य देहे श्वासप्रश्वासक्रिया लक्ष्यते। मातृगर्भेऽवस्थानकाले गर्भधारिणीजननीतः पृथक्तया शिशोः श्वासक्रिया न तिष्ठति। गर्भस्थः शिशुः मात्रा आहृतात् खाद्यात् आत्मपुष्टिं लभते। मातुः श्वासप्रश्वासाभ्यां तदीयदेहस्य विकासः सम्भवति। किन्तु प्रसवमात्रेण वैष्णवीमाया तमाक्रामति, तदारभ्य स वस्तुतः कालराज्ये अध्युषितुमारभते। शिशो यत्प्रथमं श्वासग्रहणं तज्जन्मपदेन अभिधीयते। श्वासस्य शेषत्याग एव मृत्युपदेन व्यपदिश्यते। जन्म आरभ्य मृत्युं यावत् मध्यवर्तिनी अवस्था तस्य जीवनम्। अनेन कारणेन मनुष्यस्य समग्रं जीवनं श्वासप्रश्वासमयम्। आत्मविस्मृतावस्थायां मनुष्यः श्वासप्रश्वासाधीनो वर्तते, निरन्तरकालप्रेरणया ईडा-पिङ्गलानामक वाम-दक्षिणमार्गयोः सञ्चरति। आदौ अविद्यावरणाभावे विक्षेपरूपश्वासप्रश्वासक्रिया या अभावो घटते। प्रकृतपक्षे इयं श्वासप्रश्वासकालस्यैव क्रीडा। अस्माभिर्यज्जीवनमुच्यते तत् कालस्य वा मृत्योः स्वकीयप्रकाशस्य महिममात्रम्।

६. योगिभिरुच्यते यत् योगपथे नवविधो मुख्योऽन्तरायो विद्यते। एते चित्तस्य विक्षेपरूपा। चित्तस्य विक्षेपमात्रेण एते सर्वे विद्यमाना लक्ष्यन्ते। एतेषां नामानि भवन्ति - यथा व्याधिः स्त्यानं नाम चित्तस्य अकर्मण्यता, संशयः, प्रमादः (अर्थात् समाधिसाधनानुष्ठानाभावः) देहस्य चित्तस्य चालस्यम्, अविरतिः (विषयतृष्णा) भ्रान्तिज्ञानम् (वा मिथ्याज्ञानम्) समाधेः भूमिलाभाभावः। एवं च भूमिलाभेऽपि तत्र प्रतिष्ठित्यभावः दुःखम्, इच्छाया अपूर्णतावशतः चित्तस्य क्षोभः देहस्य कम्पनं श्वासः, प्रश्वासश्च। एते सर्वे पूर्ववर्णितमुख्यान्तरायाणामानुषङ्गिकसहकारिणी भवन्ति।

७.अस्मान् विवरणादेतदेवावगम्यते यत् श्वासप्रश्वासौ मौलिकौ रोगौ न भवतः किन्तु रोगस्य उपसर्गमात्रम्। मूलरोगस्य विजयेन श्वासप्रश्वासौ आयत्तौ भवतः। श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्मूलं भवति चित्तस्य विक्षेपः, विक्षेपस्य मूलं भवति प्रत्यक्चैतन्यस्य अनुपलब्धिर्नाम साक्षात्कारात्मकज्ञानस्य अभावः। यैरुपायैः प्रत्यगात्मनः साक्षात्कारो भवति, तत्प्रभावेण श्वासप्रश्वासरूपक्रीडाऽपि प्रशाम्यति। प्रणवजपः, प्रणववाच्येश्वरभावना च योगिभिरात्मज्ञानलाभस्य मुख्यहेतुरिति उच्यते। प्रणवजपस्य रहस्येऽवगते बोद्धुं शक्यते यत् अजपा जप एव श्रेष्ठजपः, इतरे सकला जपाः चरमावस्थायामजपायामेव पर्यवस्यन्ति। इयं भवति मनुष्यस्य स्वाभाविको जपः।

८. एकस्मिन्नहोरात्रे एकस्य मनुष्यस्य स्वाभाविकश्वासप्रश्वाससङ्ख्या २१६०० (षट्शताधिकैक-विंशसहस्रम्)। अवस्थाभेदेन अस्याः किञ्चित्तारतम्ये प्राप्तेऽपि अयमेकः सामान्यो नियमः। श्वासः बहिर्याति 'हमि'तिध्वनिं कृत्वा, अस्य नाम प्रश्वासः। अयं पुनरन्तरागच्छति 'स' इति ध्वनिं कृत्वा। अस्य नाम निश्वासः। (हङ्कारेण बहिर्याति सकारेण विशेत्पुनः।। .... गुरुवाक्यात्सुषुम्नायां विपरीतो भवेज्जपः। सोऽहं सोऽहमिति प्राप्तो मन्त्रयोगः स उच्यते।)

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९. योगिभिरुच्यते यत् जीवो निरन्तरतया श्वासप्रश्वासव्याजेन इमं हंसमन्त्रं नाम अजपागायत्रीं जपन्नस्ति। जीवमात्रेण सर्वे एवं कुर्वन्तः सन्ति। सुतरां मनुष्योऽपि करोति। किन्तु इतरजीवान्मनुष्यस्य एतदेव पार्थक्यं यत् मनुष्यः स्वीयपुरुषकारद्वारेण एतादृशं सामर्थ्यमर्जयितुमर्हति, येन श्वासप्रश्वासयोः स्वाभाविकगतेः विपर्ययः सम्भाव्यते। अर्थात् मनुष्यः स्वीयसाधनया 'हंसः' गतिं 'सोऽहं' गतौ परिवर्तयितुं पारयति। तदानीमात्मज्ञानस्य मार्ग उन्मोच्यते। इडा-पिङ्गलयोः प्रवाहशीलवाय्वोः वक्रगतिः सरलगतिरूपेण परिणमति। सुषुम्ना ब्रह्ममार्गः। वायुः इडापिङ्गलमार्गत आकृष्टो भूत्वा यावता परिमाणेन सुषुम्नायां प्रविशति तावता परिमाणेन विकल्पस्य उपशमो भवति, निर्विकल्पात्मज्ञानस्य अवरुद्धद्वारं धीरं धीरं क्रमश उन्मोचनाय प्रारभते। सुषुम्नायां वायुर्यदि न प्रविशति तर्हि मनस ऊर्ध्वगति नैव सम्भाव्यते। ऊर्ध्वगतिर्व्यतिरेकेण विकारत्यागपूर्वकं चित्तं साम्यभावेन स्थितिलाभं कर्तुं न पारयति योगिभिः यत्कुम्भकमुच्यते तत् अस्या ऊर्ध्वगतेः हेतोः क्रमशः सिद्ध्यति। वस्तुतः कुम्भके गतिर्न विद्यत इति न, किन्तु वक्रगतिपरित्यागपूर्वक मन्तर्मुखिन्याः सरलगतेः सूचना लभ्यते। अस्याः सरलगतेः अन्ते गतिहीनावस्थाया आभासः प्राप्यते। या अस्माभिः जागतिकभाषया प्राणापानयोः कार्यमुच्यते सा योगिनां भाषया हंसमन्त्रस्य उच्चारणमुच्यते इति।

१०. एतादृशस्य विषमगतेः कारणानुसन्धानेन ज्ञायते यत् प्रकृतौ अस्य वैषम्यस्य बीजमन्तर्निहितमस्ति। प्राणोऽपानमपानं प्राणञ्च निरन्तरमाकृषति। किन्तु उभयोः स्वाभाविकी गतिः परस्परविरुद्धा। यस्यां दिशि प्राणः सञ्चरति अपानस्तद्विपरीतायां दिशि सञ्चरति। यदि तौ इतरनिरपेक्षौ भवतः तर्हि विरोधस्यावसरोऽपि नागच्छेत्। किन्तु तथा न भवति। अपानमस्पृष्ट्वा प्राणो न चलति, तथैव प्राणोऽपानमपेक्षते। तमाकृषति, यदि वा अपानो विरुद्धवाही। तेन प्रकारेण प्राणं न स्पृष्ट्वा अपानो न चलति। तथैव अपानः प्राणमाकृषति। एतेनेदमेवावगम्यते यत् प्रकृतसाम्यावस्थातश्च्युतो भूत्वा उभयोर्मध्ये विरुद्धगतेरुदयो भवति। तस्माद् हेतोः प्राणः अपानश्च विरुद्धसञ्चारिणौ भूत्वा अविरुद्धसाम्यभावेन पुनः प्रतिष्ठितो भवितुं चेष्टते। यावत्पर्यन्तं तत्र भवति तावत्पर्यन्तं शान्तेः सम्भावना नास्ति। बद्धो जीवोऽस्य घटनाद्वयस्य अभ्यन्तरे पतित्वा सकृदुपरि प्रयाति सकृच्च अधो याति, वाम-दक्षिणयोर्मार्गयोः सञ्चरति। तस्य विश्रामो नास्ति। योगिनोऽनयोर्द्वयोर्गतयोः समन्वयसाधनं सकलप्रकारकस्य अध्यात्मसाधनस्य इदमेव उद्देश्यम्।

११. अस्या वैषम्यमय्याः गते पिङ्गलद्वयमस्ति। एका दिक् देहगता अपरा च कालगता। नासापुट माध्यमेन श्वासो बहिः प्रवहति, अयमभ्यन्तरप्रवणो भूत्वा प्रत्यावृत्तम्भवति। अस्या बहिर्गतेः एका सीमा वर्तते। साधारणावस्थायां नासापुटद्वारेण बहिर्द्वादशाङ्गुलपर्यन्तमियं बहिर्गतिः परिलक्ष्यते। आगन्तुककारणविशेषात् कदापि एकस्या व्यक्तेः श्वासगत्यां गतेः किञ्चित् तारतम्यं घटते।

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तद्वत् प्रकृतेर्वैचित्र्यात् नानाव्यक्तीनां श्वासस्य गतौ कश्चन भेदो वर्तते। गतेर्विस्तारो यतोऽधिको भवति बहिर्मुखता कालस्य प्रभावश्च ततोऽधिकतरौ ज्ञायेते। संयतजीवनाभ्यासस्य फलतया क्रमशोऽस्या बहिर्गते ह्रासो भवति। एतद्भवति देहगताविषमगतेर्विवरणम्।

कालगतवैषम्यमन्यप्रकारकम्। एकस्य निर्दिष्टकालस्य श्वाससंख्यया एतद्वैषम्यस्य परिचय उपलभ्यते। अत्र श्वास इत्युक्ते पूरकरेचकयोर्ग्रहणं भवति। साधारणतया एकस्मिन् क्षणे (मिनिट्) सुस्थसंसारिमनुष्यस्य श्वासोच्छ्वासो प्रवर्तते। किन्तु अस्मिन् स्थले आगन्तुककारणवशतः प्रकृतेर्भेदे च अस्य किञ्चिद् वैलक्षण्यं दृश्यते। तदतीव न गण्यम्। संयमाभ्यासयोः प्रभावेण इयं संख्या क्रमशो ह्रसते। अयं भवति श्वासगतेः कालस्य विषयः। श्वासस्य बाह्योन्मुखतां संख्यां चान्तरा परस्परं सम्बन्धो वर्तते। साधारणः बाह्यगतौ द्वादशाङ्गुलपरिशिष्टायां सत्यां संख्या भवेत् पञ्चदशी। इयमेका साधारणी निर्णीतिः। योगाभ्यासस्य विशिष्टशक्तेश्च प्रभावेण बाह्यगतेर्ह्रासात् संख्यापि तदनुपातेन ह्रसते। अर्थात् श्वासस्य देशसम्बन्धः, कालसम्बन्धश्च समभावेन युगपत् शिथिलतां प्राप्नुतः। बाह्यगतेरेकाङ्गुलह्रासेन संख्याया एकचतुर्थांशह्रासो भवति। अङ्गुलद्वयह्रासेन संख्यायाः सार्धद्विमात्राह्रासो भवति। अन्ततो गत्वा यदा बाह्यगतेर्द्वादशाङ्गुलपरिमाणं शून्यत्वेन परिणमति तदा संख्याऽपि पञ्चदशपरिमाणतः शून्ये पर्यवस्यति। अर्थात् श्वासस्य देशगतकालगतसम्बन्धौ युगपत् विच्छिन्नौ भवतः। अस्यां स्थितौ श्वासस्य स्थूलसञ्चारो निरुद्ध्यते, रेचकपूरकयोः कार्यं शान्तं भवति। अस्यैव नाम कुम्भकं यस्मात् पूर्वसमाधानसूत्रं विजृम्भते। इयं भवति समाधानस्य स्थितिः। तदानीं पूर्ववर्णितविक्षेपस्य उपशमो भवति, न ततः पूर्वम्।

१२. प्राणस्य बाह्यगतेः संख्या यदा न्यूना भवति तदा नानाप्रकारकालौकिकशक्तीनां विकासो भवति। अत्र प्रथमतः कामना त्यज्यते। प्राणस्य चञ्चलताया हेतो वासनाया उद्भवो भवति। प्राणस्य शान्तावस्थायाः प्रारम्भेण चित्ते क्रमशो निष्कामभावः स्थानं प्राप्नोति। निष्कामभावस्य अभिव्यक्तेरनन्तरमानन्दस्याभिव्यक्तिः स्वाभाविकी भवति। श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासु, भगवता उक्तं यत् अशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम्। शान्तेरुदयं विना प्रकृतं सुखं नाविर्भवति। अथ वाक्सिद्धिः, दूरदृष्टिः, आकाशगमनं, छायानाशः, इत्थं च निर्वाणपर्यन्तमायत्तं भवति।

प्राणस्य बाह्यगतेरुपशम एव साधनाया उद्देश्यम्। यत्प्रकारकचिन्तया आचरणेन च अस्या बाह्यगतेर्वृद्धिर्भवति सा साधनस्थले त्यक्तव्या। अन्ततः एतादृशेषु स्थलेषु संयमस्य अभ्यास आवश्यकः।

१३. अजपासाधनाया तत्त्वप्रक्रियासम्बन्धे पूर्वाचार्याः गुरुपरम्परानुसृतपद्धतेर्वशवर्तिनो भूत्वा नानादृष्ट्या नानाप्रकारकविवरणं प्रकाश्यन्तो दृश्यन्ते। साधकस्य योग्यतामधिकारगतवैशिष्ट्यं चोपजीव्य विचारे कृते एतदेव बोद्धुं शक्यते यत् एतेषां प्रत्येकशः काचित् सार्थकता विद्यते।

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१४. अजपा कुण्डलिनीत उद्भूता प्राणधारिणी प्राणविद्यारूपेण योगिसमाजे परिचिता। यथा श्वेनः ऊद्र्ध्वे आकाशमुड्डीयापि गुणबद्धो भूत्वा अधः पृथिवीं प्रति आकृष्यते, तथैव प्राणापानक्रिययोर्वशी-भूतो जीव ऊर्ध्वमधश्च गन्तुं शक्नोति। कैश्चिदाचार्यैरुच्यते यत् तत्पदवाच्यः परमात्मा हंसविद्यायाः प्रथमावयवभूत'ह'कारेण वर्ण्यते। 'त्वं' पदवाच्यप्रत्यक्चैतन्यः खेचरीबीजभूतो द्वितीयावयवः 'सः' कारेण द्योत्यते। प्राणिमात्रस्य हृदये योऽव्याकृत आकाशे विद्यते, ततः लिङ्गशरीरं विद्यते। तस्य प्रतिलोमभावेन हंसस्य गतिर्भवति। शास्त्रेषु उच्यते यत् 'सः कारो ध्यायते जन्तुर्हंकारो जायते ध्रुवम्।' सः अथवा जीवो आत्मनो जीवत्वं परिहाय सोऽहं शब्दस्य लक्ष्यभूत्वेन प्रत्यगात्मना सह अभिन्नत्वं प्रतिपद्यते, तेन परमात्मनः पृथक् न भवति यः साधको निजमात्मानं ध्यायति तत्कृते हकारात्मकपरमात्मत्वप्राप्तिः सुलभा भवति।

१५. द्वितीयतः हंस इत्युक्ते प्रत्यगात्मा नाम व्यष्टितुरीयो भवितुमर्हति। परमहंसशब्देन परमात्मा नाम समष्टितुरीयो भवति। व्यष्टितुरीयसमष्टितुरीययोर्मिथ योगेन हंसयोगो निष्पद्यते। इदमेव अजपाद्यास्तत्त्वम्।

१६. तृतीयतः साधकस्य प्रज्ञायाः साधनशक्तेश्च तारतम्यानुसारमजपातत्त्वविषये नानाप्रकारक-दृष्टयोऽङ्गीक्रियन्ते। मन्दप्रज्ञस्य मध्यप्रज्ञस्य उत्तमप्रज्ञस्य च साधकस्य दृष्ट्या समस्तप्रकारको भेदः परिलक्ष्यते। यस्य ज्ञानशक्तिः नैवोज्ज्वला, योऽत्यन्तः सूक्ष्मतत्त्वमाकलयितुं न पारयति, स मन्दप्रज्ञसंज्ञया अभिधीयते। तेन साधकेन हकारेण पुरुष सकारेण प्रकृतिश्चावगम्येते। तद्दृष्ट्या हंसयोगो नाम पुरुषप्रकृतियोग इत्युच्यते। किन्तु यस्य प्रज्ञा अपेक्षाकृता तीक्ष्णा स मध्यप्रज्ञसंज्ञकः साधकः। तस्य दृष्ट्या हकारो भवति अपानस्य सञ्चारः, सकारश्च प्राणस्य सञ्चारः। यदा मुख्यः प्राणः पराङ्मुखभावेन आवर्तितो भवति तदा स प्राणसंज्ञां परित्यज्य अपानसंज्ञां धत्ते। सुतरां हंसविद्याया रहस्यं मध्यमसाधकदृष्ट्या प्राणापानयोः संयोगः किन्तु उत्तमप्रज्ञासम्पन्नस्य साधकस्य दृष्ट्या भेदोऽत्यन्तं सूक्ष्मः। अयं साधकः पूर्वोक्तयोर्द्वयोः भेदयोः परिहारेण आत्मस्वरूपदिशा प्रवर्तते। अयं साधको जपामन्त्रस्य पूर्वभागमहङ्कारं जीवात्मत्वेन उत्तरभागं सकारं शक्तित्वेन मनुते।

१७. अधिकारभेदेन अजपाजपस्य विधानमपि भिद्यते। ये निम्नाधिकारिणस्ते तालुप्रभृतिर्देहि-कोच्चारणयन्त्रसाहाय्येन अजपाजपं सम्पादयन्ति। एतेषां समेषां साधकानां चित्तं सम्पूर्णतया संस्कृतं न वर्तते। तस्माद्धेतोः देहगतक्रियाश्रयं विना एते जपसाधनं कर्तुं न पारयन्ति। किन्तु मध्याधिकारिणस्तेषां चित्तस्य संस्कारोऽधिकः। एतदर्थं तैरजपाजपार्थं तालुप्रभृतीनां कापि प्रक्रियां नैवापेक्ष्यते। तेषामधिकारस्य उच्चत्वात् तेषां विधानमपि भिन्नम्। तेषां दैहिकोच्चारणस्य आवश्यकताया अभावेऽपि अन्यप्रकारकानुसन्धानस्य तत्रावश्यकता वर्तते। तत्रैतादृशी भावना

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कर्तव्या यत् अजपामन्त्रस्य 'सः' इत्यंशः प्राणरूपेण 'हम्' इत्यंशोऽपानवृत्तिरूपेण निजदेहे सर्वदा अनुस्यूतौ स्तः। 'हम्' इत्यंशस्थशब्दैः सह अपानवृत्तेः साम्यमूलकसम्बन्धो विद्यते। तस्मात् हेतोः हंकारोऽपानवृत्तिं सूचयति। तद्वत् सःकारः प्राणं बोधयति। सः, हम् इति मन्त्रस्य भागद्वयं प्राणापानवृत्तिरूपेण स्वदेहे सर्वदैव क्रियां सम्पादयति। एवंविधा निरन्तरचिन्ता अजपाजप इत्युच्यते। प्राणापानरूपेण विद्यमानोऽयं मन्त्रो येन साधकेन गुरुमुखादधिगम्यते सोऽजपन्नपि प्राणापानरूपमन्त्रेऽनुस्यूतस्तिष्ठति। तदर्थं तस्य सर्वदैव मन्त्रजपो भवति एव। अनेन कारणेन अयं हंसमन्त्रोऽजपाविद्यात्वेन परिकीर्त्यते। वाचिकजपापेक्षया अयमनुसन्धानरूपो जपोऽधिकः प्रबलोऽधिकः फलप्रदश्च। तथापि आस्तिक्यभावगुरुभक्तिश्रद्धाप्रभृतिसहकृतोऽयं जपः बलाधिकतरो भवति। अयं भवति मध्यमाधिकारिणः प्रसङ्गः। किन्तूत्तमाधिकारिणः कृते

अजपाविधानमन्यप्रकारकम्। उच्चाधिकारिणश्चित्तं श्रवणमननप्रभृतिभिरभ्यासवशतोऽत्यन्तं विशुद्धम्। एतज्जातीयकसाधकस्य इयं बुद्धिर्यत् अजपामन्त्रस्य यः पूर्वभागोऽहं जीवं बोधयति, स जाग्रत्प्रभृतिविभिन्नावस्थानां साक्षी। वस्तुत आत्मनः सुखित्वं दुःखित्वं यतोऽनुभूयते, अत एतेनावगम्यते यत् अहं पदार्थो जीवस्य वाचकः। किन्तु मन्त्रस्य उत्तरभागे यत् सः इति पदमास्ते तत् शक्तेर्वाचकम्। वस्तुतः इयं शक्तिः समस्तविश्वस्य कारणत्वेन परमेश्वरस्य नामान्तरम्। सुतरां संसारिरूपेण प्रतीयमानम् 'अहम्' एव प्रकृतदृष्ट्या 'सः' अथवा परमात्मा। एतदेव भवति अजपाजपस्य तात्पर्यम्।

१८. योगिसम्प्रदायेषु, अजपाप्रक्रियामधिकृत्य नानाविधानानि अनुसृतानि लक्ष्यन्ते। तेषु कानिचन श्रुत्यादिषु निबद्धानि सन्ति। केषाञ्चन मतेन केवलं कुम्भकेन एतादृशी एका अवस्था प्राप्यते यत्र रेचककुम्भकौ न स्तः। अस्मिन् समये श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्वेगः शान्तस्तिष्ठति। अस्यां स्थितौ नाभौ प्राणापानयोः साम्यं प्रतिष्ठितं भवति। अत्र सहस्रदलकमलात् निरन्तरं याऽमृतधारा क्षरति, अस्मिन्समये तस्याः पानावसरो जायते। प्राणस्य चञ्चलस्थितौ एतदमृतपानस्य सम्भावना नास्ति। यदा योगिना प्राणापानयोः समतामवाप्य शान्तावस्थायां स्थीयते, पूर्वोक्तामृतं च पीयते तदा अमृतपानं न तस्य कर्तव्यम् अपि तु तद्वारा नाभिस्थज्वलन्महादेवस्याभिषेकसम्पादनं, तेन च सह हंसः इत्युक्त्वा हंसमन्त्रस्य आवर्तनम्। एतदभिलक्ष्य देहे प्रत्यक्षतया यज्ञानुष्ठानस्य प्रयोजनं भवति। एतद्भवति आध्यात्मिकसूर्यग्रहणम्। देहतत्त्वविद्भिर्योगिभिर्यदा उत्तरायणदक्षिणायन-नामकायनद्वयं विषूवश्च दृश्येते तदा देहे विद्यमानेऽपि तैः कलनिष्कलबिन्दूसाक्षात्कारः क्रियते। प्राण ईडातः पिङ्गलां सञ्चरति, पिङ्गलातः ईडां च प्रति प्रत्यावर्तते। एतद्द्वयमुत्तरायण-दक्षिणायन नाम्ना प्रसिद्धम्। प्राणस्य मूलाधारे प्रवेश एको विषूवः, मस्तके प्रवेशश्च अपरो विषूवः विषूवपदेन सैवावस्था यत्र रात्रिदिवसयोः साम्यं प्रकाश्यते। देहे एतद् बिन्दूद्वये साम्यं प्रकाश्यते।

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तस्मादयं विषूव इत्युच्यते। एतदेव योगिनां कर्तव्यं यन्मन्त्रहीनन्मन्त्रयुक्तप्राणायामाभ्यामर्थानुसन्धानपूर्वकप्रणवहंस-मन्त्रयोरुच्चारणमेव। प्रणवार्थकहंसः सोऽहंरूपेणानुसन्धीयते। एतदैक्यानुसन्धानं नमस्कारयोगस्य रहस्यम्। अजपायास्तात्पर्यमत्रैवान्तर्निहितमास्ते। अतः परं मुद्राधारणं स्वतोभवत्येव। इयं मुद्रा चिन्मुद्रापदेनाभिधीयते। प्रचलितभाषायामस्या नाम शाम्भवी वा खेचरी मुद्रा। अस्या मुद्रायास्तात्पर्यमेतदेव यत् निजादन्यत् किञ्चित् न वर्तत इति बोधात्मकस्थितिः। आत्मनोऽर्चनं नाम 'सोऽहमस्मि' रूपेण ध्याने मग्नता। अस्या नाम प्रत्यक्षयागः। अस्मिन् समये प्राणः पिङ्गलामार्गेण कुण्डलिनीस्थानं प्रविशति। एतदेव आध्यात्मिकसूर्यग्रहणस्य तात्पर्यम्।

१९. उपनिषत्सु यो हंसयोगः तदजपासाधनम्। तत्र एतस्य विवरणपुङ्खानुपुङ्खः प्राप्यते। अस्य योगस्य प्रभावेण प्रत्यगात्मनः परमात्मनश्च विषयकं ज्ञानं जायते। एतदेव हंसज्ञानम्। ये योगिन एतद्पद्धत्यनुसारमजपासाधनायामग्रेसरन्ति तैः प्रप्रथमतया सिद्धासने उपविष्टैर्भवितव्यम्, वामगुल्फेन गुदस्थानावेष्टनपूर्वकं पूरकक्रिया कर्तव्या। अनेन प्रकारेण मूलाधारे वायुः सञ्चितो भवति। अथ स्वशक्त्यनुसारमाकुञ्चनक्रियया मूलाधारतोऽयं वायुरुत्थाप्यते। एतत्पर्यन्तायां क्रियायां सिद्धायां प्राणापानयोः साम्यस्थापनमावश्यकं भवति। प्राणापानयोः साम्याभावापन्नतायां सत्यां मूलाधारस्थिते त्रिकोणे विद्यमानमग्निमुत्थाप्य प्राणापानाभ्यां सह योज्यते, एवं सति कुण्डलिनीशक्तिर्जागर्ति। कुण्डलिनीजागरणानन्तरमेतज्जागरितया कुण्डलिन्या ब्रह्मग्रन्थिर्भेत्तुं शक्यते। यावत्पर्यन्तमयं ग्रन्थिभेदो न भवति तावत्पर्यन्तं षट्चक्राणामाद्यभूतचक्रे मूलाधारो नाम चतुर्दले प्रवेशाय सामर्थ्यं नैव जायते। कमले प्रविश्य, अस्मिन् कमले यो बिन्दुर्नाम तुरीया भूमिर्वर्तते सा ध्यायते। अस्य संज्ञा विराट् ध्यानमिति। अनेन ध्यानेन ऊर्ध्वगतिर्भवति। तदानीं षड्दलविशिष्टस्वाधिष्ठानचक्रं वारत्रयं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य दशदलविशिष्टे मणिपूरचक्रे गन्तुं शक्यते। तदानीं पुनर्वारं ग्रन्थिभेदस्य आवश्यकता विद्यते। अस्य ग्रन्थिर्नाम विष्णुग्रन्थिः। अयमनाहतचक्रस्य अधस्ताद्वर्तते। अस्य भेदेऽकृते हृदयचक्रे प्रवेष्टुं न शक्यते। हृदये प्रवेशात्प्राक् स्तनवल्लम्बमानमांसखण्डद्वयं दृश्यते। तदा पार्श्वस्थमार्गद्वयं त्यक्त्वा मध्यमपथमाश्रित्य विशुद्धचक्रे प्रवेष्टुं शक्यते। तत्रैव प्राणा निरुध्यन्ते। अतः परं तुरीयं नाम अन्तिमं ग्रन्थिं भित्त्वा आज्ञाचक्रं प्रति उत्थाय गम्यते। अस्य ग्रन्थेनाम रुद्रग्रन्थिः। अयं ग्रन्थिराज्ञाचक्रस्य अधस्तद्वर्तते। आज्ञाचक्रे प्रवेशादनन्तरं तत्रत्यं बीजं नाम तुरीयं ध्यायते। योगिना एतत्पर्यन्तं मार्गेऽतिवाहिते कृते सति चन्द्रसूर्यादीनां त्रयाणां तेजसां नाम त्रयाणां बिन्दूनां मेलनं कर्तुं शक्यते। तत्र एतेषां त्रयाणां तेजसां मिथः पार्थक्यं न तिष्ठति। एतेषां मेलनेन एकस्य महतस्तेजसो विकासो घटते। अनेन सहस्रारतः क्षरितस्य अमृतस्य आस्वादनाधिकारो जायते। तदानीं योगी अजरामरपिण्डं लब्ध्वा सहस्रारशोभिनी-ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे प्रविशति। तत्र तुर्यस्य अपरोक्षदर्शनं घटते। यदुपरिमात्रात्रयस्य आरोपणं भवति तस्य नाम तुर्यम्। यदा एतदवस्थाया अनुभवो भवति। तदाऽऽत्मानं त्रिमात्रं मत्त्वा योगिनः काचिद्विचित्राऽनुभूतिर्जागर्ति किन्तु तुर्यतुर्ययोर्मात्रा लुप्यति।

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इयं भवति अमात्रपरिस्थितिः। अयं साक्षात्कारः क्षणिकमात्रं न भूत्वा सार्वकालिको भवेत्। तुर्ये कश्चन साकारभावस्तिष्ठति। किन्तु तुर्यतुर्ययोः साकारभावः कदापि न तिष्ठति। अयं प्रतिद्वन्दिहीन एकोऽद्वयश्च। परमहंसावस्था अस्य नामान्तरम्। तुर्यतुर्ययोः स्वगतांशात् तुर्य उद्भवति। अयं योगिभिः कोटिसूर्यसदृशदेदीप्यमानत्वेन वर्ण्यते। किन्तु वस्तुतः अस्य वर्णना न सम्भवति। तुर्येण सह अभिन्नतां मत्त्वा एतादृशी वर्णना क्रियते। वस्तुतः अयं वर्णनातीतः।

२०. अजपैव आत्ममन्त्र इत्युक्तं प्राक्। जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु जीवात्मा परमात्मतोऽभिन्न इति महत्तत्त्वमस्य मन्त्रस्य प्रतिपाद्यं तथ्यम्। अस्य मन्त्रस्य ऋषिर्ब्रह्मा, छन्दो गायत्री, देवता आत्मा, शक्तिः सः बीजं हम्। अस्य मन्त्रस्य द्वौ भागौ स्तः एकः शक्तिः अपरो बीजम्। अस्मात् अयं शिवशक्तिसमन्वितः।

२१. विद्या वा संविद्रूपिणी शक्तिर्मन्त्रात्मा सकारस्य वाच्यार्थः। तेन रूपेण अस्याः शक्ते प्रतिपाद्यो निष्फलः परमशिव एव हंकारस्य प्रतिपाद्यः। शब्दात्मकशक्तिः, बीजञ्च नाम सकारः हकारश्च सकलनिष्फलयोः प्रतिपादनं कुरुतः। सत्यज्ञानादिलक्षणः निरूपाधिकः स्वप्रतिष्ठः अन्तरात्मरूपी चैतन्य एव परशिवः। अहं शब्दोऽन्तरात्मानं प्रत्यगात्मानं बोधयति इति कृत्वा अनेन परमशिव एव प्रकाश्यते। अयं शिवस्वरूपः स्वयमात्ममायया यदा आत्मनः प्रतियोगिनं प्रतिद्वन्दिनं वा उद्भावयति तदाऽयं प्रतियोगी तस्य द्वितीयो भवति, अयं शक्तिपदेनाभिधीयते। अजपामन्त्रे यः 'सः'कारो वर्तते स इमां शक्तिमेव बोधयति। तदर्थमयं मन्त्रः शिवशक्त्युभयात्मकः। अत्र 'ह' पुरुषवाचकः 'सः' प्रकृतेर्वाचकः। प्रपञ्चसारे भगवता श्रीशङ्कराचार्येणोक्तं यत् 'हकारः पुरुषः प्रोक्तः स इति प्रकृतिर्मता। पुंप्रकृत्यात्मको हंसस्तदात्मकमिदं जगत्' इति। शिवशक्त्यात्मकोऽर्ध-नारीश्वरो नाम शक्तियुक्तः परमेश्वरो निरन्तरं एतादृशं परशिवस्वरूपं ध्यायति, अमुं मन्त्रञ्च जपति।

२२. द्वादशदलाहृत्कमले दलचतुष्टयेन सह श्वासप्रश्वासयोः कश्चन सम्बन्धो नैव स्थाप्यते। हंस इदं चतुर्दलं स्पर्ष्टुं नैव शक्नोति। प्राणापानसमाधियुक्तोऽयं जीवोऽस्मिन् स्थले हंसशब्देन उच्यते। यदिवाऽयं हंस एतच्चतुर्दलं स्पर्ष्टुं न शक्नोति। तथापि अयमन्यदष्टदलेषु निरन्तरं भ्रमति। जीवस्य चित्ते प्रतिक्षणं यो नानाप्रकारको भावो जागर्ति स सर्वैः ज्ञातः आपाततः निष्कारकं कुतोऽयं भावश्चित्ते निरन्तरं जागर्ति। अज्ञानसमाच्छन्नो जीवस्तस्य कारणं ज्ञातुं न पारयति। विशेषज्ञैरुच्यते यत् एतस्य सर्वस्य भावस्य नाम विकल्पराशेः संख्ययाऽनन्तत्वेऽपि स्थूलदृष्ट्या अष्टधा विभज्यते। योगिभिरुच्यते यत् भ्रमणसमये जीवो यद्दलं स्पृशति, यद्दले प्रविशति तदा तदनुरूपो भावः चित्ते उदेति पूर्वदिशि विद्यमानाद् दलात् ईशानकोणस्थदलं यावत् अष्टदलानि सन्ति इति ज्ञातव्यम्। शास्त्रकारैरनुभवसिद्धैः पुरुषैः दलविशेषेण सह भावविशेषस्य सम्बन्धोऽतिसूक्ष्मभावेन

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निरूप्य व्याख्यायते। अस्मिन् विषये केषाञ्चन मिथः पृथङ्मतं दृश्यते। भावस्य रसस्य च रसिकाः साधकाश्च एतत् विज्ञानमनुसृत्य स्वस्वसाधनपद्धतिं रचयन्ति। कमले दलकर्णिकयोः प्राधान्यमनुभूयते। वायोर्दले सञ्चारणेन चित्तस्य चाञ्चल्यं बहिर्मुखता च जायते। एतस्मिन् समये वासनादीनां तीव्रताऽनुभूयते। किन्तु यदि वायुर्दलं त्यक्त्वा मध्यबिन्दौ कर्णिकायाञ्च प्रविशति तर्हि निजातिरिक्तविषये नाम बाह्यविषये वैराग्यमाविर्भवति। केसरे वायुसम्बन्धवशतः जाग्रद्दशाया विकासो भवति। तदाऽहङ्कारः पूर्णतया कार्यं करोति। वायौ कर्णिकायां प्रविष्टे अहङ्कारो अर्धविकसितावस्थायां परिणमति। इयं भवति स्वप्नदशा। कर्णिकाया अन्तःस्थितशून्यमण्डले वायोः प्रवेशेन सुषुप्तिदशा उदेति। तदाऽहङ्कारो न वर्तते। एतच्छून्यमण्डलमतिक्राम्यते। तदा पुनः कमलेन सार्धं सम्बन्धो न तिष्ठति। तदवस्थाया नाम तुरीयावस्था इयमेव साक्षात्कारावस्था। तदा हंसः प्रत्यगात्मना सहाभिन्नो भूत्वा परमात्मस्वरूपेण प्रकाश्यते। हंसस्य उपरि नादस्य क्रिया तिष्ठति। तेन हेतुना मनो धीरं धीरमात्मानं नाशयति। चरमावस्थायाम् उन्मनोभावस्य उदयो भवति। इयं तुरीयातीतावस्था। इयं तुरीयातीता स्थितिः स्वाधिष्ठाननिरधिष्ठानभेदेन द्विविधा। स्वाधिष्ठानस्थितौ देहस्तिष्ठति, किन्तु त्रितापपीडा न तिष्ठति। अस्यामवस्थायां नादोऽर्धमात्रा तिष्ठति। किन्तु यदा देहो न तिष्ठति तदा नादो न तिष्ठति। तदा नादः प्रत्यगात्मना सह अभिन्नो भूत्वा प्रत्यगात्मनि नाम हंसे लीयते। इयमेव प्रतियोगिहीना अद्वैतब्रह्मावस्था।

२३. श्वासप्रश्वास एव आत्ममन्त्रः। निश्वासः 'स' कारो नाम त्वंपदार्थः। एवञ्च उच्छ्वासबिन्दुना सह आकाशबीजं हंकारः। अयमेव तत्पदार्थः। पौनःपुन्येन उभयोर्योग एवाहम्। अस्यैव नाम तत्त्वमसि। उजपाया इदमेव स्वरूपगतं रहस्यम्।

२४. यद्वा भवतु। अस्यां साधनायामप्रविस्य एतत्तत्वस्य रहस्यं सहजतया बौध्यं न भवति। जपसंख्यां सम्यक् आगणयित्वा या अजपा साध्यते सा सम्यक् न भवति। संख्यां विना श्वासप्रश्वासाभ्यां कृते जपे या अजपाऽनुष्ठीयते साऽपि सम्यक् न भवति। वाचिकक्रमेण मानसिकक्रमेण वा बद्धे सति अजपा न सिद्ध्यति। प्रत्यक् साधनक्रियाया एकमवश्यं फलमास्ते। शास्त्रानुसारं महद्भिर्जनैः चैतन्यरसविग्रहत्वेन चिन्तामणिरूपेण वा नाम्नः परिचितिर्गीयते। एतदत्यन्तं सत्यम्। नाम केवलं लौकिकाकाशधर्मत्वेन शब्दमात्रं न भवति। एतत् चेतनं पूर्णजीवनीशक्तिसम्पन्नञ्च। एतत् भगवतोऽनुग्रहेण गुरुकृपया वा आत्मबलेन चलति। एतत् श्वासप्रश्वासवद् वाग्यन्त्रमाश्रित्य स्वशक्त्या कर्म करोति। अहङ्कारविमूढेन जीवेन स्वचेष्टया अथवा स्वेच्छया भगवतो जाग्रन्नाम जपितुं न शक्यते। यतो हि चिन्मयं नाम स्वतन्त्रम्। सद्गुरोरनुग्रहप्राप्तः साधकः केवलं द्रष्टा भूत्वा एतत्प्रकारकनाम्नः क्रीडां द्रष्टुं शक्नोति। श्रोता भूत्वा निरन्तरमनुगन्तुमर्हति। अजपाया एतदेव रहस्यमेतत् यत् स्वभावात् जपस्य क्रिया भवति, स्वयं किमपि न करोति। स्वयं क्रियायाः पृष्ठभागे स्थित्वा केवलमस्याः क्रीडाया द्रष्टृरूपेण सोऽवसिष्ठते।

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२५. एतदर्थं सद्गुरुकर्तृकशक्तिसञ्चारः सर्वप्रथमतया आवश्यकः। यदिवाऽयं बहिर्भागाद् भवति सति सौभाग्येऽन्तभागादपि भवितुमर्हति। एतेन सार्धं यथासम्भवं मनसः पृथक् स्थित्वा प्रकृतेः लीलां द्रष्टुं शक्येत। कल्पना मनसि भवति, किन्तु येन केनचित् प्रकारेण सा त्यक्तव्या। सत्यं सर्वथा स्वयं प्रकाशम्। एतत् स्वालोकेन आत्मानं प्रकाशयति। मनसा कल्पनाशक्त्या वैतत् आवृतवत् खण्डितवद्वा रक्ष्यते। श्वासप्रश्वासौ यथा स्वाभाविकौ तथैव अनेन सह ग्रन्थनात् क्रिया स्वाभाविकी भवति। केचित् जपेन सह प्राणस्य नियन्त्रणक्रियामभ्यस्यन्ति। प्राणे नियन्त्रिते बद्धः प्राणः मुक्तप्राणरूपेण परिश्रमयितुं शक्यते। 'कण्टकेनैव यथा कण्टकं शोध्यते' तथैव प्राणे बद्धे सति अबाधितमुक्तप्राणस्य सन्धानं क्रियते। अनया प्राणायामक्रियया देहात्मबोधः सरलतया दूरीभवति, बाह्यस्मृतिः देहसंस्कारस्य लुप्यतः। अस्मिन् समये प्रवाहशीलं चैतन्यमयमेकमात्रं नामैव तिष्ठति, अनुभूयते च। एतस्य प्राणस्य नियन्त्रणेन नव द्वाराणि निरुध्यन्ते। सम्पूर्णतया प्राणवायोरन्तर्मुखा-कर्षणादनन्तरं सामान्यवायोरन्तः प्रवेशः समाप्यते। नाम्नो जीवत्प्रवाहेण सह मनः संलग्नं क्रियते, स्वसामर्थ्यानुसारेण अयमन्तराकृष्टो वायुः धार्यते। बहिर्जगतः संस्कारे देहात्मा बोधे च लुप्ते सति आध्यात्मिकमार्गस्य प्रधानप्रतिबन्धकं दूरीभवति।

२६. इदानीं जिज्ञासा भवति यत् श्वास-प्रश्वासौ यदा विक्षेपरूपेण परिगणितौ तदा तौ आश्रित्य नामसाधनस्य का सार्थकता? अत्र उत्तररूपेणेदमेव वक्तुं शक्यते यत् श्वासप्रश्वासौ यो विक्षेपः तौ सत्यम्, यत्स्थानमभ्येत्य स्थितिः स्वीक्रियेत तत् श्वासप्रश्वासहीनं मनसश्चाञ्चल्यहीनं सुशान्तं परमस्थानं च। कुम्भकावस्थायामस्मिन् परमस्थाने प्रवेशो लभ्यते। किन्तु स्वाभाविकौ श्वासप्रश्वासौ अनालम्ब्य तत्र स्थातुं न शक्यते। ज्ञानेन्द्रियस्य द्वारमनिरुध्य मनुष्यः बाह्यस्मृतिं लोपयति, स्वाभाविकौ श्वासप्रश्वासौ अस्वाभाविकौ अशान्तौ च भवतः।

२७. अजपां प्रकृत्य कैश्चिदुच्यते यत् कुण्डलिनीशक्तेर्जागरणेन तालुमूलान्नाभिं यावदाकर्षणवि-कर्षणक्रियेऽनुभूयेते। अस्यां स्थितावनागतायां वस्तुतोऽजपाक्रिया भवितुं नार्हति। सामान्यतया अस्माभिः मनसा सह घनिष्ठसम्बन्धेन स्थीयते। वस्तुतः मनसो वयं पृथक् तस्य साक्षी नियामको वेति अस्माभिर्विस्मर्यते। तदर्थं बहुषु कालेषु वयमात्मानं मनस्त्वेन मन्यामहे। अस्यां स्थितौ इन्द्रियगतकार्येण सह मनसो लिप्तता सृज्यते। एतेन मन इन्द्रियं नियन्त्रयितुं न पारयति। अभिमान उच्चैरुद्भवति। एतेन कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वभावना जागर्ति। स्वयं कर्मणः कर्ता भूत्वा सुखदुःखरूपभारं वोढुमर्हति। सांसारिकबद्धजीवनस्य इदमेव स्वरूपमिति वक्तुं शक्यते।

२८. किन्तु मनसः सकाशात् आत्मनि विविक्ते कृते मनः इन्द्रियव्यापाराद्, विविक्तं भवितुं पारयति। इन्द्रियव्यापारेण सह प्राणस्य क्रीडागतः सम्बन्धो वर्तते। ज्ञानस्य व्यापार एव प्राणस्य क्रीडा। कर्मणो व्यापारोऽपि प्राणस्य क्रीडा। प्राण एव विश्वरङ्गमञ्चे क्रीडां प्रदर्शयति। इयमेव

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प्रकृतेः क्रीडा। मनश्चेत् तटस्थं भूत्वा इमां क्रीडां पश्येत तर्हि तत् सम्यक्। किन्तु वस्तुतस्तत्र भवति। मनः क्रीडां द्रष्टुं गत्वा स्वयं क्रीडितुमारभते। किन्तु अज्ञानस्य प्रभावात् क्रीडाभावः शिथिलीभवति, तत् कर्तृरूपेण सज्जीकृत्य अभिनयति, किन्तु साक्षित्वेन अभिनयं न पश्यति। तस्माद्रसमास्वादितुं न शक्नोति। प्राणः क्रीडति तत्संसर्गेण मनोऽपि क्रीडति। मनसोऽशान्तेः चाञ्चल्यस्य च इदमेव कारणम्।

२९. सकलाशान्तेराद्यकारणमिदमेव यत् नाहं 'द्रष्टा इति'। मम द्रष्टृत्वेऽपि चेष्टां विना मनो निष्क्रियं भवेत्। तदानीं मनो भवेत् स्वच्छं निर्मलं च। तदानीं तस्मिन् प्राणस्य क्रीडा आरोप्येत। मनोऽस्यां क्रीडायां भावमारोपयति। अहं द्रष्टृत्वेन तत्पश्यामि। मनः सत्त्वस्वरूपं तन्माध्यमेन दर्शनेन आत्मनः तटस्थभावोक्षुण्णस्तिष्ठति। आत्मा अभिनेत्रभिनेत्रीसकाशात् स्वभेदं विसृजति, अर्थात् एतत्सर्वमात्मसात्करोति। किन्तु स्वयं प्रेक्षकत्वेन वर्तते। मनसः मध्यस्थताभावेन एतादृशी स्थितिर्नोदेति।

३०. वस्तुतः इयं भवति शुद्धमनसः शक्तिः। परमात्मनो या शक्ति सा एव जीवात्मनो मनः। शुद्धं मन एव योगमायायाः परिणतिः। अशुद्धं मनः मलिनाया मायायाः परिणतिः। कर्तृत्वे, कारयितृत्वे, द्रष्टृत्वे दर्शयितृत्वे च सर्वत्र अस्या आवश्यकता वर्तते।

३१. क्रीडां करोति प्राणः, प्रकृतिः शुद्धा अशुद्धा च। अत्र इदमेव आवश्यकं यत् मनसैव क्रीडा दृश्येत। स्वयं साक्षी भूत्वा शुद्धत्वेन दृश्येत। साक्षित्वस्य अभावात् शुद्धमनसः प्राप्तये कोऽपि उपायो नास्ति। तदानीं यल्लभ्यते तत् मलिनं मनः। यया क्रीडया सार्धं सम्बद्धं भवति, झटिति येन अस्मान् तत्र सम्बद्धान् करोति। मनः उपेक्ष्य आत्मैव द्रष्टा तिष्ठति। किन्तु तस्या स्थितौ आत्मा यत्किञ्चित् पश्यति आत्मना सह सम्पूर्णतया अभिन्नं पश्यन्ति। तस्मात् लीलादर्शनं न भवति। यदि वा मूलतः आत्मदर्शनमेवावश्यकं तथापि लीलादृष्ट्या किञ्चिद्भेद आवश्यकः। तदर्थं रसास्वादनाय स्वच्छमनसोऽपि हार्यता वर्तते। तदानीमेतन्मनो भवति दर्पणः यत्र स्वभावस्य क्रीडायाः प्रतिबिम्बो द्रष्टुं शक्यते। अस्य नाम भावस्य क्रीडा। शुद्धमनस उपेक्षया भावातीतस्थितिः प्राप्यते। तया रसास्वादो न भवति, भवति केवलमनन्ता अबाधिता आत्मदृष्टिः।

३२. मनोमये सत्त्वमये च स्तरे क्रीडा भवति। इयं क्रीडा अनन्ता। दर्शं दर्शं क्रीडां समाप्तिं न याति दर्शनम्। किञ्च दर्शं दर्शं विश्रान्तेरपि साक्षी भवति। विश्रामस्य साक्षी यः स एव क्रीडायाः साक्षी विश्रामस्य साक्षी निकुञ्जविहारस्य द्रष्टा क्रीडायाः साक्षी कुञ्जलीलाया साक्षी। स एक एव।

३३. आत्मा भावरञ्जितो भूत्वा प्राणस्य क्रीडां प्रेक्षते। सहृदयो न भूत्वा कश्चित् क्रीडां दृष्ट्वाऽपि रसमनुभवितुं न शक्नोति। तस्य स्वसविधे काऽपि क्रीडा नास्ति। आत्मा भावव्यञ्जि

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जतो न भूत्वा विशुद्धद्रष्टृभावेन यदि मनः पश्यति तर्हि मनो निष्क्रियं भवति, तदानीं प्राणस्य क्रीडा नैवानुष्ठीयेत।

३४. अस्माकं श्वासप्रश्वासयोः प्रवाहोऽस्य प्राणस्य क्रीडा एव। निरन्तरमध-ऊर्ध्वगमन-प्रत्यागमनरूपिणीयं क्रीडा भवति। शिवसकाशाच्छक्तिं यावत्, पुनश्च शक्तिसकाशात् शिवं यावत् वर्त्ततेऽयं प्रवाहः। शिवशक्त्योर्विच्छेदे नाम विरहकाले उभयोर्मध्ये व्यवधानं तिष्ठति। तदा अयं प्रवाहश्चलति। श्वासक्रिया अस्य नामान्तरम्। यदा शिवशक्त्योः मेलनं सङ्घट्यते तदाऽयं प्रवाहो नैव तिष्ठति। श्वासस्य क्रियाऽपि न तिष्ठति। एकस्य परमस्य शान्तभावस्य च स्थितिर्भवति।

३५. शिवशक्त्योः विच्छेदावस्थायामात्मा मनसा, मनश्च प्रकृत्या प्राणेन वा सह सम्बद्धस्तिष्ठति। आत्मा स्वबलेन द्रष्टा भूत्वा यदि मनः पश्यति तर्हि मनोऽपि तटस्थं भूत्वा प्राणस्य क्रीडां द्रष्टुं शक्नोति। एतदर्थं श्वासगतिनिरीक्षणकार्ये मनसः संलग्नता सम्पाद्यते एवं च स्वयं मनसः पृष्ठभूमौ नीरवतया अवतिष्ठते। सामान्येन इदमपि वक्तुं शक्येत यत् मनः श्वासेन प्राणेन च सह सञ्चालितं भवति। तस्माद्धेतोः श्वासश्चलति। किन्तु मनो यदा श्वासेन सह न चलित्वा तदीयगतिं निरीक्षते तदा आत्मा उदासीनस्तिष्ठति एवञ्च तत्क्षणात् श्वासस्य गतौ मान्द्यं परिलक्ष्यते।

३६. अस्याऽपि एका परावस्था विद्यते। तस्याद्भुतं रहस्यमास्ते। यदा शिवशक्त्योः मेलनं भवति, यदा प्राणापानयोः संयोगो भवति, यदा वायुः स्तम्भ्नाति मनश्च स्तम्भ्नाति समग्रं विश्वं स्थानं प्रतिपद्यते, कालस्य गतिर्निरुध्यते, परमशान्तिरुदेति, तदानीं तस्यां महास्थितौ अन्तः एकं कार्यमविपर्यस्तं सञ्चलति। हंसावस्थातः एतत् परमहंसावस्थां प्रत्युन्नयनम्। इदमेव आत्मरमणमुच्यते। आत्मना सह आत्मन एव विहारोऽयम्। तदा द्वितीयं किमपि नास्ति। तदानीं शिवशक्त्योरेव मेलनम्। मिलितावस्थायामपि तस्यामन्तः क्रिया वर्तते। शिवशक्त्योरेतत् परस्परमनुप्रविष्टस्वरूपम्। एतदत्यन्तं गुप्तम्। आगमशास्त्रे उच्यते यत् अनुत्तरोऽक्षररूपी परमेश्वरः स्वीयाङ्गीभूतनिखिलप्रपञ्चलयात्मकविमर्शशक्तौ अनुप्रविष्टः प्रतिबिम्बितो वा। तदनन्तरमियं विमर्शशक्तिः स्वान्तःस्थप्रकाशमयप्रतिबिम्बेऽनुप्रविशति। आत्मारामावस्थाया अयं पूर्वाभासः। अतिसंक्षेपेण एतत् अजपारहस्यम्।।

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Abhinayadarpaṇa - A new Malayalam Manuscript on Dramaturgy[1]

N. K. Sundareswaran

The Thunchan Manuscripts repository[2], University of Calicut contains a Malayalam manuscript, which is titled as *Abhinayadarpaṇaṁ samūlam–bhāṣāvyākhyānaṁ* in the Catalogue (Vol. II, Ms. No. 965 A). The palm leaf manuscript contains 36 leaves, serially numbered in the Malayalam digit, each leaf - 25x4 in. size - having nine lines in a page and 42 letters in a line. It is in good condition. The script is modern Malayalam. The editors of the catalogue simply state that the manuscript is old. The script being modern Malayalam, the manuscript cannot be very old. It may be 100-150 years old approximately. The manuscripts preserved in the repository are procured from various private collections. The source of the present manuscript is not known.

It begins as '*hariḥ śrī gaṇapataye namaḥ, nakāro vāyurityukto bha[sic]kāraścānalo mataḥ, agnimārutasaṁyogānnādassamupajāyate.*' and ends as '*stamba[sic] pralayaromāñca svedo vaivarṇyamevatha[sic], aśru vaiḍū[sic]ryamityaṣau [sic] sāvi[sic]kāḥ parikīrtitāḥ. abhinayat[d]a [sic]rpaṇaṁ samāptaṁ, śubhaṁ, ekādaśaṁ śubhaṁ.*'

For convenience and differentiating it from the famous work *Abhinayadarpaṇa* dealing with āṅgikābhinaya-s which are mainly used in dance, we may call the present work as Mal Ms AD.

The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is ascribed to the legendary author Nandikeśvara, who is often referred to as a preceptor of music and theatre. Manmohan Ghosh ascribes three more works to the authorship of Nandikeśvara. They

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are *Tāḷalakṣaṇa, Tāḷādilakṣaṇa and Tāḷābhinayalakṣaṇa.*[3] The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* was first published in 1887 by Thiruvenkatachari of Nādamangalam.[4] In the year 1917, Ananda K. Kumaraswami the famous aesthetician and Indologist, brought out a work *The Mirror of Gestures*, purported to be a translation of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, with a learned introduction. In the year 1934, Manmohan Ghosh brought out a critical edition of the work. Prof. Ghosh has pointed out that the text used by Kumaraswami is not identical with the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. Ghosh further points out that Kumaraswami's work does not contain several topics like maṇḍala, sathānaka, cārī, and gati, which are very important from the point of view of Indian theatre.

C. Rajendran has brought out a translation of the work in 2007 with an introduction and notes.[5] He points out that 'the textual problems of the work are galore'. It is in these circumstances that the present manuscript is subjected to a close study here.

The work Mal Ms AD

It contains different topics pertaining to Indian theatre in general like the origin of nāda, the nāḍi-s from which nāda-s originated, saptasvara-s, the classification of svara-s, tāḷa-s, laya-s, rāga-s, tāḷamātra-s, mudrā-s and hastalakṣaṇa-s. Generally topics are introduced with Sanskrit verses followed by their lucid expositions in Malayalam language, which is often mixed with Tamil. On certain occasions both Malyalam and Tamil words are used side by side to express the same idea. At some instances, we do not find Sanskrit verses. Topics are dealt with in Malayalam prose. At some other instances (as in the case of tāḷa-s), only Sanskrit verses are given. They are not followed by explanations in Malayalam language. These Sanskrit verses might have been taken from different sources. Some of these, pertaining to hastamudrā-s, are the same as those found in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, with slight variations. It has already been pointed out by scholars that *Abhinayadarpaṇa* version of these verses are taken from the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* of Śāṛṅgadeva[6].

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Synoptical survey of the contents

The work (Mal Ms AD) begins with the description of the form, origin and classification of nāda. It is pointed out that nāda-s go to make svara-s , which in turn go to make śruti-s. Just as the face of people shine in the mirror, so do the svara-s in the śruti-s.

narāṇāñca mukhaṁ yadvaddarpaṇe tu prakāśate,
pratibhāti svarāssapta śrutiṣveva vibhāgaśaḥ.

Another beautiful simile in the same context is more interesting. Just as milk gets transformed into curds, so do svara-s get manifested in the śruti-s. The nāda is eulogized as the soul of gīta and nṛtta.

na nādena vinā gītaṁ na nādena vinā svaraḥ,
na nādena vinā nṛttaṁ tasmānnādātmakaṁ jagat.

Then the nāda-s are classified into five as 1) atisūkṣma, 2) sūkṣma, 3) ṛṣṭa, 4) apṛṣṭa and 5) kṛtrima.

Then follows the description of the origin of saptasvara-s, their relation with the saptadhātu-s and the saptadvīpa-s (in Malayalam prose not supported by Sanskrit verses).

This is followed by a short description of the tāḷa-s, graha-s, and the laya-s. Tāḷa-s are divided into seven groups as dhruva, maṭṭaya, rūpaka, pratimaṭṭaya, aṭṭatāḷa, laṁbhaka, and ekatāḷa. graha-s are classified into three as sama, atīta and anāgata. Laya-s are grouped into three as druta, madhyama and viḷambita.

This is followed by a long list of rāga-s in which neither definition nor the description is given. The names of famous and popular rāga-s in Karnatic music like *Toḍi*, Śaṅkarābharaṇaṁ, Bhairavī, Ānandabhairavī, Nāṭṭa(i), Haṁsadhvani, Kalyāṇi (different types), Māḷavagauḍa, Kāphī, and Suruṭṭi find a place in the list which exceeds 75 in number. The list ends with the raga 'puṟanīru' a raga popular in kathakaḷī and kūṭiyāṭṭaṁ.

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Then follows a long description of tāḷa-s in Sanskrit verses. Here, we get first a general description of the nature and scope of tāḷa-s in music. Curiously we get a statement (immediately after this general introduction of tāḷa-s, so to say) which runs as 'śubhaṁ/ *ini tāḷalakṣaṇatte paṟayunnu/* ' (śubhaṁ. Next the *tāḷalakṣaṇa*-s are enunciated). After this we get an introductory verse in Sanskrit which ends as '*tāḷānāṁ kathayāmi ḷakṣaṇamahaṁ pūrvoktaśāstrakramāt/*' which means 'I shall state the lakṣaṇa-s of tāḷa-s as is described in the śāstraic tradition. Here a long list of tāḷa-s is given below:

caccarī siṁhīlaśca tribhinno vīravikramaḥ,
pratyagaṅgajalīlaśca tribhinno vīravikramaḥ.

haṁsalīlo varṇabhinno rājacūḍāmaṇistathā,
natadyoto rājatāḷaḥ siṁhavikrīḍitastathā.

vanamālī varṇatāḷastato raṅgaḥ pradīpakaḥ,
haṁsanādaḥ siṁhanādo mallikāmodasaṁjñakaḥ.

bhaveccharabhalīlaśca raṅgābharaṇameva ca.
tatastu raṅgalīlaḥ syātsyāttataḥ siṁhanandanaḥ,

jayaśrīrvijayānandaḥ pratitāḷo dvitīyakaḥ.
makarandaḥ kīrtitāḷo vijayo jayamaṅgaḷaḥ,

rājavidyādharo maṭṭo jayatāḷaḥ kuṭukkakaḥ.
tato nissārakaḥ krīḍātribhaṅgiḥ kokilapriyaḥ,
śrīkīrttirbindumālī ca samatāḷaśca nandanaḥ.

Many of the tāḷa-s in this enumeration find a place in a similar list given in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva. There in the fifth chapter which is named as *Tāḷādhyāya,* tāḷa-s are divided into two as mārga and deśī. After describing the mārgatāḷa-s, a long list of deśītāḷa-s is given with the introductory statement '*tāḷānāmadhunā teṣāmuddeśaṁ saṅgirāmahe*' (now we shall enumerate the tāḷa-s).

The present Mss. then proceeds to give the prastāra-s of the tāḷa-s. This part of the Mss. (Mal Ms AD) contains explanations of Sanskrit passages in a sort of Tamil-mixed-Malayalam.

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At the end of this description, again we find a statement which resembles a concluding statement. It runs as 'tāḷagrahaṁ śubhaṁ'. This is followed by another long list of enumeration which contains four set of items. The names in the first set end with the term gati. Those of the other sets end with terms, cāri, śāli and svara respectively.

Next comes the description of tāḷaprayoga-s with the help of meaningless and rhythmic verbal phrases like *tattika-tadhika-tādhika-takadhika* etc. At the end of this description, it is stated that this description - that is, this list of the *Tāḷaprastāra* - is not exhaustive and that that their number extends to tens of thousands. To quote the text, '*prastāramātrakaḷinṟeyuṁ prayogattinṟeyuṁ viśeṣamaṟiya iṅṅane svalpamāka itinnu ezutiyatu. agastiyar mahāmeruvileyirunnu prastaricca tāḷaṅṅaḷ patinām̐āyirattiyeṭṭuṁ meruprastāramennu peru. śrīmahādevan kailāsattilirunnu prastaricca tāḷaṅṅaḷ patinām̐āyiravuṁ mahāprastāramennu peru. śrīhanumān bhūmiyil tāḷaṅṅaḷ prastariccatin oṭukkaṁ prayāsaṁ ennaṟiññu patinām̐āyirattiyeṭṭu tāḷaṅṅaḷ paṟayunnu. hanumān prastāramennu peru. hanumān prastārattinṟe saṅkhyai śrīhanumān tanne aṟiññilla ennu mahattukaḷ paṟaññukeṭṭirikkunnu*' (Thus it has been briefly explained just to get an idea of prastāra-s and prayoga-s of the tāḷa-s. Agastya , residing in the Mahāmeru, has described 16008 tāḷa-s which go by the name meruprastāra. Lord Mahādeva, residing in Kailāsa, has described 16000 tāḷa-s which go by the name mahāprastāra. Hanumān, residing in the earth, finding it very difficult to describe individual tāḷa-s, states that these exceed 16008 in number. This is known by the name *Hanumāna-prastāra*. We have heard from great personages that the number of tāḷa-s in the *Hanumāna-prastāra* is innumerable.)

Here also we find the statement '*śubhaṁ. abhinayat[d]a[sic]rpaṇaṁ samāptam.*'

The next topic dealt with in the Ms. is that of hastamudrā-s. Both the saṁyuta and asaṁyuta mudrā-s and also some gestures to represent some deities are given here. After giving their lakṣaṇa-s, their application in the respective contexts are also given here in Sanskrit verses. The expositions of these verses are also given in Malayalam language which is profusely

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mixed with Tamil words. The hand gestures described here are more or less the same as those in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. The Sanskrit verses also are, on most of the cases, the same as those in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, with slight variations in the reading. Some of the lines of verses dealing with the application of hand gestures are left out. To put it other way round, *Abhinayadarpaṇa* version of these passages have some lines in addition to those in the Mal Ms AD.

Let us see one or two examples where the readings of Mal Ms AD show variations in reading.

1. Pataka

The patākalakṣaṇa of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is as follows:

aṅgulyaḥ kuñcitāṅguṣṭhasaṁśliṣṭaprasṛtā yadi,
sa patākakaraḥ prokto nṛtyakarmaviśāradaiḥ. (Abhinayadarpaṇa-93)

(When the bent thumb is placed beside (literally, combined with) the other fingers which are stretched forward, it is said to be the patāka by the masters of hand gesture).[7]

Mal Ms AD has the lakṣaṇa as

prasāraṇamaṅgulīnāmaṅguṣṭhasya ca kuñcanāt,[8]
patākākhyakaraḥ proktaḥ karaṭīkāvicakṣaṇaiḥ.

2. Tripatāka

The tripatākalakṣaṇa of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is as follows:

sa eva tripatākaḥ syād vakritānāmikāṅguliḥ. (Abhinayadarpaṇa-101)

(The patāka, with the ring-finger bent becomes tripatāka.)
Mal Ms AD has the lakṣaṇa as:

asminnanāmikā vakrā yadyasau tripatākakaḥ.

3. Ardhapatāka

The ardhapatākālakṣaṇa of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is as follows:

tripatāke kaniṣṭhā cedvakritārdhapatākikā. (*Abhinayadarpaṇa*-103)

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(If the little finger in the tripatāka is bent, it turns out to be the *ardhapatāka)* Mal Ms AD has the lakṣaṇa as:

tripatāke kaniṣṭhā cedvakritārdhapatākakaḥ.

It may be noted here that both the readings are the same but for the gender of the last word. And it may easily be noticed that the reading of the Mal Ms AD is the better one since the names of gestures are generally given in masculine gender. Moreover the gender of this word need not agree with that of kaniṣṭhā.

Now let us see an instance of application of hand gesture as given in the Mal Ms AD along with the explanation in Malayalam. The statement regarding the employment of kapitthahasta runs as follows:

lakṣmyāñcaiva sarasvatyāṁ naṭane tāḷadhāraṇe,
dhūpe dīpārcane cāpi kapitthaḥ samprayujyate.

This is followed by the exposition as:
lakṣmyāṁ lakṣmiyiṅkal sarasvatyāṁ sarasvatiyiṅkal naṭane naṭanattinkal āsanattil tāḷadhāraṇe tāḷaṁ piṭikkunnatil dhūpadīpārcane. Without completing the exposition, the Ms. proceeds to the lakṣaṇa of the next gesture. It may be noted here that the Sanskrit (versified) passage given here is the same as that given in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. The only difference is that the text of *Abhinayadarpaṇa* contains two more lines which are left out here.

To continue with the survey of the contents of the Mal Ms AD, there are some verses dealing with some interesting topics like 'how a stage should be', 'how the actors should decorate themselves with the ornaments', verses to be uttered during such occasions, tāḷapraśaṁsā, eulogy of Maddaḷa (a percussion instrument) and veṇu the lute. There are some verses dealing with the desirable characteristics of an actress. To quote:

rūpaudāryaguṇairyuktā sumukhī dīrghalocanā,
suvibhaktāṅgasaṁyuktā ghanastananibandhinī.

jitaśramā bahuprajñā suśikṣitagatikramā,
arogā śīghrasampannā satataṁ priyavādinī.

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yuktipratyukticaturā rañjitā rañjakairguṇaiḥ,
gurudevadvijādīnāṁ pūjanodyogamānasā.
bhūṣitā bhūṣaṇaiḥ saumyaiḥ sāpsarā nartakī bhuvi.

The disqualifying features of an actress are also enumerated. They are:

lambastanī ca sthūloṣṭhī puṣpākṣī dīrghadarśinī,
mahodarī ca dīrghāśī ṣaḍete nāṭyavarjitāḥ.

These two set of verses differ widely from the similar verses dealing with the same subject seen in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*.

This is followed by nāṭyalakṣaṇa, rājalakṣaṇa, mantrilakṣaṇa, and the sabhāvandana which are couched in Sanskrit verses.

Interestingly three verses of *the Māḷavikāganimitra* dealing with different aspects of Nāṭya are reproduced as a continuation.

These verses are:

1) *aṅgairantarnihitavacanaiḥ sūcitaḥ samyagarthaḥ*
pādanyāso layamanugatastanmayatvaṁ raseṣu,
śākhāyonirmṛdurabhinayastadvikalpo'nuvṛttau
bhāvo bhāvannudati viṣayādrāgabandhaḥ sa eva.
(*Mālavikāganimitra* 2.8)

2) *vāmaṁ sandhistimitavalayaṁ nyasya hastaṁ nitambe*
kṛtvā śyāmā viṭapasadṛśaṁ srastamuktaṁ dvitīyaṁ,
pādāṅguṣṭhāluḷitakusume kuṭṭime pātitākṣaṁ
nṛttādasyāḥ sthitamatitarāṁ kāntamṛjvāyatārdhaṁ.
(*Mālavikāganimitra* 2.6)

3) *dīrghākṣaṁ śaradindukānti vadanaṁ bāhū natāvaṁsayoḥ*
saṅkṣiptaṁ nibiḍonnatastanamuraḥ pārśve pramṛṣṭe iva,
madhyaḥ pāṇimitonitambi jaghanaṁ pādāvarālāguṅlī
chando nartayituryathaiva manasi sṛṣṭaṁ tathāsyā vapuḥ.
(*Mālavikāganimitra* 2.3)

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The work ends with the verse *stamba[sic]pralayaromāñca svedo vaivarṇya-mevatha[sic], aśru vai·ū[sic]ryamityaṣau [sic] sāvi[sic] kāḥ parikīrtitāḥ.* dealing with the sātvikabhāva-s.

Abhinayadarpaṇa and Mal Ms AD

We have seen that Mal Ms AD is not a regular work in the sense that it does not describes all the aspects of Indian theatre or stage in a systematic manner. The topics are not dealt with methodically. Uniformity in style is clearly missing. In some portions of the work we get exposition (which should actually be called mere translation). And some of the Sanskrit verses based on which Malayalam notes or translations are seem to have taken from other sources. Moreover at three-four instances we get statements which look like concluding benediction (śubhaṁ).

Abhinayadarpaṇa, on the other hand, is a regular work dealing with many aspects of Indian theatre. We get here genesis of Nāṭya, eulogy of Nāṭya, division of theatrical art, occasions for dancing, the difference and relation between nāṭya, Nṛtta and Nṛtya, the ideal qualities of the mantrin and the sabhāpati,characteristics and the arrangement of sabhā, desirable and disqualifying features of a dancer (dancing girl), pūrvaraṅga, principles of Nāṭya, different kinds of acting, aṅga-s pratyaṅga-s and the upāṅga-s of āṅgikābhinaya and the different kinds of head-gestures and neck movements in dance, apart from a detailed description of hand gestures.

But, Mal Ms AD cannot be discarded as yet another loose collection of fragmentary Ms. since

1) It is named as '*Abhinayadarpaṇa*' and gives variant readings, at times entirely different readings, for the same hand gestures given in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. This is the case not only with the hand gestures but with other minor aspects of acting (nāṭya). Thus, it may help us to have a better understanding of *Abhinayadarpaṇa*.

2) It contains many new topics like the description of the form, origin and classification of nāda; the origin of saptasvara-s, their relation with

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the saptadhātu-s and the saptadvīpa-s; some verses describing 'how a stage should be', 'how the actors should decorate themselves with the ornaments', verses to be uttered during such occasions, tāḷapraśaṁsā, eulogy of Maddaḷa (a percussion instrument) and veṇu the lute.

3) It contains a long list and a detailed description of tāḷa-s and the *Tāḷaprastāra*-s which are worth comparison with those in the *Saṅgītaratnākara of* Śārṅgadeva. (It may be noted that this is absent in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa)*

4) It contains translation or simple exposition of some Sanskrit verses, it may help us in fixing up a correct or better reading of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*.

Conclusion

Thus, it is hopeful that a keen study of this work will definitely help us for a better understanding of the texts like *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Moreover the possibility (since it contains a lengthy description of Tāḷa-s*)* of it containing a part or whole of the works ascribed to Nandikeśvara viz. *Tāḷalakṣaṇa*, *Tāḷādilakṣaṇa* and *Tāḷābhinayalakṣaṇa* cannot be ruled out.

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Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva (Skt. Text with Eng. Tr. and Notes, 2 vol.s), Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1989.

Saṅgīta Ratnakaram A study, R. Rangaramanuja Ayyangar, Wilco Publishing House, Bombay.

Notes

1. Presented in the National Seminar on *Manuscripts in Southern peninsula* (Sanskrit as well as Dravidian languages) at Andhra Pradesh Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Hyderabad (18th -20th March 2011)
2. The Thunchan Manusripts repository , University of Calicut has got a collection of around 8000 manuscripts. Around 650 of them are Sanskrit manuscripts

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catalogued by Dr. N. V. P. Unithiri. 4348 manusripts in Malayalam script, (the subject matter of a majority being directly or indirectly pertaining to Sanskrit) are catalogued in two volumes by Prof. Sukumar Azheekkod. The remaining manuscripts are being catalogued now.

3. Introduction to Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. Quoted by C. Rajedran (2007)

4. C. Rajendran, *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, p.i. Dr. M. Prabhakara Rao, Oriental Research Institute, S. V. University, Tirupati reports that the place name is Nījamaṅgalaṁ and not Nadamangalam.

5. New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 2007

6. C. Rajendran says that it – i.e. the controversy regarding who actually borrowed these verses from the other work, whether it is Śārṅgadeva or Nandikeśvara - is an unresolved textual problem. (*Introduction to Abhinayadarpaṇa*, p.vii)

7. C. Rajendran translates this verse as 'When the fingers touch the bent thumble [sic], it is called patāka'. This translation misses the meaning of the component prasṛtā of the compound word kuñcitāṅguṣṭhasaṁśliṣṭaprasṛtā.

8 The vṛttabhaṅga is noticed. The reading in the Ms. is reproduced as such.

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11

An Introduction to Pratibhā

J. Prasad

Most Indian writers on Literary Criticism have dealt with the concept of Pratibhā as the main source of poetic inspiration. It is worth noting that various systems of Indian Philosophy such as Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sānkhya-Yoga, Mīmāmsā and non-Brahmanical systems like Jainism or Buddhism and Lokāyata have used the term pratibha. Indian Literary Criticism has generally accepted pratibhā as poetic imagination, the most important source of poetry[1].

The word pratibhā means a flash of light, a revelation commonly found in literature in the sense of wisdom characterized by immediacy and intense clarity[2]. Pratibhā, taken as the fountain source and root cause of artistic creation, is not mere imagination. It is deep-seated wisdom, revelation that emanates from the inner core of self like a flash of light. Pratibha, being a 'flash of, cannot be taken as mere rationality per se. It is more than that. Pratibhā, as understood as creative imagination is beyond the framework of demonstration and exemplification. It can only be experienced and its effects can be communicated only through the forms of sublime poetic expressions or through the grandeur of philosophical ideas. Supreme poetic pratibhā is pregnant with philosophic expression and it may be one of the reasons why all Indian philosophic expressions are couched in poetic form.

The fact that a genuine artistic expression is spontaneous and finds expression in 'full throated ease', suggests that, its root cause, pratibhā is immediate in nature. The immediacy of pratibhā shows its non-empirical nature. Had it been empirical, it would have been syllogistic in its reasoning.

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That it is non-rational does not mean, it is irrational. It goes beyond the limits of rationality. It exceeds the framework of the empirical and, therefore, it is trans-rational or transcendental in nature. Thus pratibhā is intuition, the ultimate awareness of our profoundest being. According to all systems of philosophy, such intuitive knowledge is transcendental; it reveals the past and the future in a single flash of light. Indian Philosophy has discussed the concept of pratibhā both as a faculty and as an act. As a faculty, Pratibhā is the intuitive capacity attainable through a thoroughgoing self-exploration. Not only it is an inward seeking, but it is also an act, the formal creative exercise in poetry, art, sculpture, painting and other visual and verbal forms of representation and philosophic expressions.

The different schools of Indian thought have tried to explain that pratibhā, without taking resort to the laborious but totally insufficient exercise of the intellect, leads the possible way to the unexplained and inexplicable which lies beyond the world of phenomena and to the possible discovery of the transcendental knowledge which exists behind the visions of immediacy[3]. Intuitively, pratibhā, gives expressions to forms of art and gets designated as talent or genius. Thus artistic talent or genius is nothing but spiritual quest of pratibhā[4]. Almost all Indian aesthetic studies consider intuition and spiritual quest as the substratum of creative thinking and being. Various are the names given to such a state of mind. Pratibhā, prajñā, ṛtambaraprajñā, śakti etc. are some of them. It is to be noted that there is no concrete evidence to prove that the Cārvākās have ever discussed the nature of pratibhā. Being rationalists and realists of the first order they could not consider a state beyond the rational and the real. Logically, therefore, the concept of pratibhā as the prime cause of all artistic creation has been alien to them.

All creative work in Science, Philosophy in Art and life is inspired by intuitive experience. The great scientific discoveries are the result of the intuitive genius of the creative thinkers. Creative works are not blind imitation or mechanical repetition of what is seen or heard or felt or experienced in

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nature. Scientific discovery, like artistic creation, reaches out after new truth.[5] It is said that the successful practice of intuition requires precious study and assimilation of a diverse facts and data. Intuitions arise out of a matrix of rationality. Intuition is not a construction; it is the basis of all thinking. Thought gives intuition a form when it arises and communicates it with others.[6] The vision of the philosopher is the reaction of his whole personality to the nature of the experienced world.[7]

Indian Philosophy advocates intuition as the means for transcending reason and for knowing the ultimate truth and reality as the supreme aspect cit or parāsamvit. The supreme self is called Paramaśiva which is of a two-fold nature – prakāśa, the power of manifestation and Vimarśa, the power of perception.[8] In the words of *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, the whole universe is illuminated by the spirit. When it shines, everything shines after that. By its light, all this is lighted.[9]

As stated, it is very clear that almost all schools of Indian Philosophy have discussed the concept of pratibhā one way or the other. Most of them do not name it as such. For the Sāṅkhya, kaivalya or aloofness represents a stage of intuitive consciousness. Though the term pratibhā as such is not used, pratibhā as intuition is nothing other than a state characteristic of kaivalya.

Thus, if it is kaivalya for Sāṅkhya, for Yoga, it is samādhi. In Nyāya – Vaiśeṣika and occasionally in Vedānta, the term pratibhā and sometimes ārṣajñāna are found used. In Yoga, the word prajñā is also used as a synonym of pratibhā. For the Mīmāṁsakās, it is a special mental power. In Buddhism, it is 'nirvāṇa' or 'śūnya', whereas in Jainism it is avadhijñāna or kevalajñāna. In Vyākaraṇa, both prajñā and pratibhā are found as identical in sense with the paśyantī stage of four fold vāk.[10]

Pratyabhijñā or re-cognitive form of consciousness is also admitted by all systems of thought, which will be discussed later. They, however, differ in its nature, whether it is simple or complex. The Nyāya holds that re-cognition is a kind of qualified perception. It gives us knowledge of the

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present as qualified by the past.[11] According to Mīmāṁsakās especially Bhāṭṭās, re-cognition involves the admission of the external reality of the recognized object which has an existence enduring from the past moment of apprehension to the present moment of recognition.[12] The Prābhākarās see it as one cognition, which is partly perception and partly memory. The Buddhists hold it to be a mechanical compound of presentative and representative states of mind.[13] One cannot say the Buddhists as a whole admit this. It is to be noted that the Vaibhāṣikās and Sautrāntikās are realists (direct and indirect form of realism). But the Sautrāntikās are representationists. The Mādhyamikās on the other hand are śūnyavādins or nihilists.

Notes

1. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Language of Poetry*, p.8
2. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p.11
3. Dr. J. Gonda, *The vision of Vedic poets*, p. 326
4. Dr. Padmasudhi, *Aesthetic theories of India*, vol. 3, p. 124.
5. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *An idealists view of life*, p. 138
6. Ibid. p.140.
7. Ibid. p. 144.
8. Jaideva singh, *Pratyabhijñānahṛdayam*, p.5
9. Tameva bhāntam anubhāti sarvam tasya bhāsa sarvamidam vibhāti (ii, iv. 15)
10. Debabrata Sen, *The Concept of Knowledge* – Indian Theories, p. 91.
11. Dr. K.C. Pandey, *Comparative Aesthetics*, vol. I, p. 57
12. Debabrata Sen, *The Concept of Knowledge – Indian Theories*, p. 91.
13. Dr. K.C. Pandey, Op.cit., p.57

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12

Team Leadership and Communication Skills — an Example from the Rāmāyaṇa

S. R. Ivaturi

The epics do not just narrate tales. They present – real life situations and tell how some people in such situations. The good or the bad, or the ideal or the imperfect of those actions and behaviour is to be judged by the reader and the contemporary society. However, those people become heroes for all ages if what they did applies in a positive way to all at all times, thereby attaching a universal quality to their actions, which in turn become the guiding posts for others to follow.

Today's world is more concentrated on the team and the team management. For every sort of job, one needs to have some leadership qualities, add to them the communication skills. These have become the prerequisites along with the academic qualifications for all jobs.

First, what are leadership qualities? Sean McPheat[1], in his famous e-book, the *Leadership Skills* enumerates commitment to vision or mission, understanding his or her role, integrity, sincerity, motivation, communication skills and ability to solve problems as leadership qualities. Dennis Rivers[2] in his *Seven Challenges* lists listening, acknowledging, and clearly expressing oneself as some of the basics of communication skills.

One can quote hundreds of examples from the scriptures and epics, and even from the Kāvyas to show how the heroes of the epics and the Kāvyas can be termed as the best leaders with great communication skills, which become the standard for today's generation to emulate.

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Let's study one example from the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa* for the present paper.

The tenth canto of the Yuddhakāṇḍa describes how Vibhīṣaṇa has advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma. But Rāvaṇa has not heeded to his advice. The sixteenth canto narrates the argument between the two brothers. And Vibhīṣaṇa's departure to Rāma forms the story of the seventeenth canto. This canto will be studied here, along with the next canto where Rāma takes his decision. The summary of these two cantos is as follows:

Vibhīṣaṇa, who has arrived along with four of his followers, introduces himself to Sugrīva and other monkeys, and requests them to announce to Rāma his arrival. Sugrīva goes to Rāma, and after commenting on the nature of the enemy, and things to be taken care of during a war, informs Rāma that Vibhīṣaṇa has arrived with four of his followers, and advises him to kill Vibhīṣaṇa. Then Rāma seeks the advice of the other monkey leaders. Aṅgada, Śarabha, Jāmbavān and Mainda voice their opinion. Then Hanumān stands and refutes the arguments of the others, and says that Vibhīṣaṇa can be taken into their fold.

In the next canto Rāma declares his intention of giving refuge to Vibhīṣaṇa. When Sugrīva again objects to it, Rāma firmly says that it is his vow to offer refuge to anyone who has come to him. Sugrīva accepts Rāma's decision, and says that Vibhīṣaṇa receives their friendship.

Rāma, the team leader:

Here we find fine leadership qualities in Rāma. When Sugrīva has come to him to inform of the enemy who has entered unexpectedly with intentions to kill them at the first opportunity[3], Rāma has remained calm and unruffled. At the end of the speech of Sugrīva, he requested the other monkeys to express their opinion in that regard. For, a friend is supposed to offer advice when someone needs it.[4]

This is what is called the inclusive trait in a leader. An inclusive environment is defined as one in which members feel respected by and connected to one another, and where differences are recognized and valued.[5] This is

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also called the participative or democratic style of leadership, which is explained as: The democratic leadership style favors decision-making by the group. Such a leader gives instructions after consulting the group.[6]

The response of the monkeys clearly shows how much they revere their leader. They say that it is not that Rāma does not know what to do in such a situation. But it is the friendly nature of Rāma that has prompted him to seek their opinion on that matter. आत्मानं पूजयन् राम, पृच्छस्यस्मान् सुहृत्तया।[7] It is an honour to the leader when he collects the opinions of his team members on any subject. This is what collective decision making is all about.[8] Both Rāma and Hanumān are positive, convincing and at the same time firm in expressing their views.

Thus in Rāma we find an exemplary leader, who has all the best qualities of a leader. So the monkeys before offering their counsel, praise Rāma thus:

"*O Rāma, you are truthful, valiant, righteous and firmly resolute. You take action after proper inspection, and you are endowed with good memory. You are friendly in nature.*"[9]

These in fact sum up the qualities of a good leader.

The communication skills:

We have two examples here in Rāma and Hanumān. When it is the turn of Hanumān to speak on the subject of accepting or rejecting Vibhīṣaṇa's entry, he starts with the following words.

"O, Rāma! I am speaking neither for argument, nor for quarrel, nor for superiority, nor out of desire for debate in respect to your command, and to put forth the facts."[10]

Hanumān is positive in his approach. He does not want to hurt the feelings of his fellow monkeys by refuting their arguments outright. He says that he does not want to prove himself better than his fellow team members. This is team spirit. He acknowledges the opinions of others, and politely rejects them. He does not criticize the members by naming them. He simply says,

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'as has been said by your ministers', यदुक्तं सचिवैस्तव[11] or 'I have something to say about this', विवक्षा चात्र मेऽस्तीयं.[12] Listening and acknowledging the other person's ideas is the foremost communication skill. We can observe this in Rāma also.

When Rāma has to announce his decision, he first praises Sugrīva. Without studying scriptures and without serving elders, it is not possible to speak such words as Sugrīva spoke."[13] And he declares that he wants to give refuge to Vibhīṣaṇa. But Sugrīva is still adamant. He again observes that Vibhīṣaṇa shall not be accepted. Rāma is patient. He understands the feelings of Sugrīva. So he says that it is not whether Vibhīṣaṇa is good or bad that is the point of discussion. He has sought refuge in him. And Rāma will offer refuge even to Rāvaṇa also if the latter were to seek it. Thus Rāma reiterates his decision in a firm but convincing and logical manner. He is not only a great team leader, but also an expert in communication. Sugrīva understands and accepts Rāma's decision.

Both Rāma and Hanumān are positive, convincing and at the same time firm in expressing their views.

Now figuratively representing the problem-solution chart:

The Problem:

Place the problem before the team

The Role of the team leader:

Step 1: Collect opinions of the team members.
Step 2: Listen attentively: Are opinions divided?
Step 3: Firmly state your decision
Step 4: Convince the dissenting parties

Solution

See that the team accepts the leader's decision whole-heartedly

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The Problem:

Acceptance or rejection of Vibhīṣaṇa

Rāma's role:

Step 1: Seek the opinion of the monkeys

Step 2: Yes, the opinions are divided. Aṅgada, Śarabha, Jāmbavān, Mainda and Sugrīva rejected Vibhīṣaṇa. Hanumān accepted Vibhīṣaṇa.

Step 3: Rāma is in favour of Vibhīṣaṇa. State that.

Step 4: Sugrīva again raises the voice of dissent. Convince him with logic.

Solution

Sugrīva offers friendship to Vibhīṣaṇa

Notes

1. Sean McPheat, *Leadership Skills*, e-book, MTD Training & Ventus Publishing ApS, 2010, pp12-16
2. Denis Rivers, *Seven Challenges*, e-book, thenewconversations.net
3. प्रविष्टः शत्रुसैन्यं प्राप्तः शत्रुरतर्कितः। (युद्धकाण्डम् 10 xvii-19)
4. सुहृदां ह्यर्थकृच्छ्रेषु युक्तं बुद्धिमता सदा। समर्थेनोपसंदेष्टुं शाश्वतीं भूतिमिच्छता।। (युद्धकाण्डम् xvii-33)
5. Schmidt S, (1996), *Inclusive Leadership: Refining our models of leadership education,* Campus activities programming 29(2), University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
6. Lewin, K, Lippitt, R., White, R. K. (1939). "*Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates*". Journal of Social Psychology 10: 271–301.
7. युद्धकाण्डम् xvii-35
8. http://leadershipmanagement.com/html-files/decision.htm
9. युद्धकाण्डम् xvii-36
10. Ibid xvii-52
11. Ibid xvii-53
12. Ibid xvii-56
13. Ibid xvii-8

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13

Language Analysis as per the Yoga System

Penna Madhusudan

Speech has been an interesting topic for study throughout these centuries right from the time when human intellect began observing itself and the world around. All the gods requested the Lord Indra to analyze the contents of the speech. The base, root, affix and amalgamation have then been explained paving the route for systematic exposition thereafter. The various *prātiśākhya* texts, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the saṅgraha of Vyāḍi may be mentioned as the earlier attempts at systematizing the Sanskrit Grammar, followed by the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Vākyapadīya* and other texts.

The Mīmaṁsā system is devoted to the ascertainment of the purport of the Vedas. While explaining the method of ascertaining the sense of vedic sentences, this system has discussed various related matters like the speech, speech-components, speech-purpose etc. The Vaiyākaraṇas, Naiyāyikas too discussed these matters exclusively.

Context

Pāṇini defined a word as "that which ends with a nominal or a verbal suffix."[1] This technical definition may serve the grammatical purpose but cannot be complete since it does not cover 'a word' in all languages, because, there are no 'sup or tiṅ' in other languages.

Gautama defined a word as "any sound-sequence which has some inflection called vibhakti at the end". [2] But this too is applicable to those words which have inflexions. What about the words without any inflexions? Later Nyāya thinkers felt the need of a proper or more complete definition of a word, and they defined a word as, "the element that has expressive power".[3] This

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power is the primary relation between a morpheme and its referent.[4] This definition is somewhat wider.

In the Nyāya system, the letters are regarded as impermanent.[5] In the Vyākaraṇa system, they are unreal.[6] Bhartṛhari has explicitly stated that the letters do not exist in the word? For the Mīmāṁsakas, the letters alone are real and words are conventional. In this background, it would be interesting to note what the Yoga system of philosophy has held about the origin, nature and purpose of speech.

Yoga theory of Speech

The *Yogasūtra* (3-17) explains the yogic power of understanding any sound by the strength of spiritual absorption on the distinction of word, its sense and verbal cognition. A perfect yogin who attains thorough spiritual absorption can realize the word, its sense and the verbal cognition distinctly.[8] A mutual super-imposition of these causes all the communications. The word 'cow' is different from the animal 'cow' which has a cow-lap etc., and the cognition that has arisen from the word 'cow' too is different. Each has different characteristics. Our life long communication depends on mutual super-imposition of the characteristics of word, its sense and verbal cognition. Thorough spiritual absorption on the distinction of all the three enables the yogin understand any speech.

The *Yogabhāṣya* analyses the elements of speech in a subtle manner. The following points need consideration.

1. The speech is effective in letters.[9]
2. The letters are not to be taken as 'word', individually.[10]
3. According to their order of position, the letters are limited by the conventional meaning.[11]
4. A word is the single representation of letters that are limited by convention, whose succession is cumulative.[12]
5. A word is received in the intellect as a 'unit' without reference to the component-letters.[13]

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6. The last letter of the group of letters that are arranged to signify one meaning, is conducive to the word-meaning.[14]
7. Mind's extroversion activated by the beginningless impression of communication causes the single or collective comprehension of the word.[15]
8. Convention or saṅketa is of the form of super-imposition between the word and its sense. The convention is of the nature of memory, causing all communications.[16]
9. Just as a sentence has power to express the sense, each word too has the power of expression.[17]
10. A word is the element that signifies the predicate and the subject separately. It is possessed of the nature of the predicate and subject.[18]

Communication of any person is effective through sentences only. Even if it is said 'cow', the verb is understood as 'there is'. So there is a complete sentence as 'there is a cow'. A sentence is formed of words and the words are formed of letters (components). These are all ultimately of the nature of sounds only.

The *Yogavārtika* explains that the udāna kind of air in the body moves upward, being instigated by the desire of the speaker, and gets pushed out through mouth variously.[19] After all, it is the vital air which assumes various forms as individual self, mind and speech. But, how does mere air assume many forms? On a closer analysis it may be observed that the air omitted from the mouth of the speaker and reaches the hearer, carrying the information. Mind instigates the inner air to pass through mouth for communication. If we further explore the reason for such mind-function, we find that these are the latent impressions which cause mind-function.

Latent impressions > mind > air > speech.

In the Vyākaraṇa system, in the context of varṇasphoṭa, it is made clear that he word varṇa here should be understood to mean the components of words.[20] The *Yogabhāṣya* observes that the speech is effective in the letters

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only. Vijñānabhikṣu explains that the organ of speech produces the letters only, and not the words. The organ of hearing receives the modifications of sounds. The separate letters in the word are called nāda (sound) and are regarded as word till they are made into one unit by the intellect. When a person utters the sounds ga, au, ḥ, the intellect makes them into a single unit as gauḥ. This is the single unit called sphoṭa distinct from the letters. Vijñānabhikṣu calls this the gauḥ-sphoṭa pada which is both identical and non-identical with the component letters.[21] The popular convention that gauḥ is a single word is proof in the existence of this sphoṭa. Similarly, the non-comprehension of such sense from each letter too can be the proof.[22]

Single letter in a word cannot be taken as a word. Because, two letters cannot be uttered simultaneously and are existent for a very short time. Without getting the status of a word together and without giving a sense, these letters are seen to disappear.[23]

But, in relation with another letter uttered in succession, each letter can function like a word being competent to express the sense.[24] In this manner, many letters are connected mutually in an order and are characterized by the convention. The *Yogabhāṣya* defines a word as "the single representation of letters which are characterized by the convention and whose sequential order as literal sounds is withdrawn".[25]

The word, thus, is-[26]

- object of single comprehension,
- inferred by single effort,
- without divisions within,
- without the letters in that state,
- grasped by intellect,
- presented by the comprehension of the last letter as a whole,
- and comprehended as a complete unit popularly by the hearers through-letters only, uttered and received with an intention.

Vyāsabhāṣya observes that the motive behind popular comprehension is 'the innate tendency to communicate', which is beginningless.[27] Of course,

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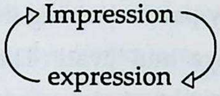
it is difficult and endless to take the point when the human being may have exactly started using the speech. But, on an analysis of the entire communication system it may be surprised that there is "innate tendency to communicate" which causes all communications. The secret may be in the human gene itself. From the stage of being a 'zygote' human being makes effort to express in various ways. The *Yogabhāṣya* explain that the effort towards expression is due to impressions. This expression again leaves some impressions and thus there is unending of life.



Once the mechanism of speech is activated, the mind learns communication on the strength of convention or saṅketa. The *Yogabhāṣya* defines convention as mutual superimposition between word and its sense, which is itself of the form of memory.[28] This definition reminds the student of philosophy, of the popular definition of adhyāsa by Ādiśaṅkara. He defined adhyāsa as "appearance of something on some other thing, an appearance which is of the form of memory."[29] To him, the world is an appearance on the pure consciousness, caused by previous impressions. *Yogabhāṣya* finds that the convention too is superimposition of word on sense (object) and vice versa. When a person utters the word 'book', it is the convention that asserts the sense. The person who knows this convention understands the sense. Speaker utters the word 'book' consisting of some sounds and the hearer recollects the object 'book' on the basis of convention. One who does not know convention or has not remembered it cannot grasp the sense. Therefore, the *Yogabhāṣya* explains that the convention is of the form of memory causing all communications. Vijñānabhikṣu explains that this is "superimposed identity" between the word and its sense i.e. object, just as the word 'om' for the Brahman or the word 'pot' for the object pot.[30]

In his *Yogavārtika*, he does not accept the definition of word-potency, offered by the Nyāya thinkers, as the desire of god in the form that a certain thing

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be denoted by a certain word and a certain word may denote a certain thing. In his opinion this definition is commonly applicable to "implying words" too.[31]

The Yogabhāṣya further maintains that the word, in general, is possessed of the expressive power just like the sentence.[32] Therefore, a single word as 'book' gives the sense of a sentence as 'there is a book'. Because, the existence of an object is always with it. Similarly, the word 'cooks' implies all necessary paraphernalia. The elaboration as "Mr. x cooks in a vessel" etc., is only for the sake of clarity particularizing the agent etc. The *Yogabhāṣya* cites two examples as 'śrotriya' and 'jīvati'. The word 'śrotriya' means 'the person who studies the Vedas'. And, the word 'jīvati' means 'holds breath or breathes'. The sentence expresses the relation of word and the meaning. The sentence is for the sake of making the sense unambiguous.[33] Otherwise, one cannot ascertain the meaning of the words like bhavati, which are used in two senses also.

1. Bhavati –	1. O Respectable lady!
	2. It is
2. Aśvaḥ –	1. A horse
	2. You have controlled
3. Ajapayaḥ –	1. Goat's milk
	2. You defeated the enemies

Observe the words śvetate and śvetaḥ. As a sentence, śvetate prasādaḥ, means that the building is white. Here, the action is the "sense denoted". When it is said, 'śvetaḥ prasādaḥ', the kāraka is denoted. Both are different. The subject and predicate are found within the word.

It may be observed that Bhartṛhari too explained that the use of words in their respective senses is as per the training received by the user.[34] He finds this training as beginningless innate tendency and unreal. Due to this only, there is a different understanding of separate words and different understanding as a whole sentence.

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His abhyāsa is the saṅketa in the Yoga system. His definition of a word too reminds us of the definition of letter in general by the *Yogabhāṣya*. To both these thinkers, a word or sound is the air passing through various places of articulation, being instigated by an effort of the speaker, to communicate.[35]

By maintaining that the letters arranged in an order get connected with each other and convey the sense by attaining the status of a word, the *Yogabhāṣya* seems to follow the padasphoṭa and abhihitānvayavāda. The *Yogabhāṣya* has explicitly stated that the word too is endowed with expressive power like a sentence. Single word too is seldom usᵔd as a sentence. The word-sense is elaborated by sentence. In the Vyākarana system too the padasphoṭa is denied for the reason that the purpose being served by vākyasphoṭa, there is no necessity for padasphoṭa.[36] Bhartṛhari has clearly shown that the words and sentences are same. There is no absolute difference. Both are absolute reals without any components.[37]

Notes

१. सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् - अष्टाध्यायी १-४-३७
२. ते विभक्त्यन्ताः पदम् - न्यायसूत्रम्
३. शक्तं पदम् - तर्कसंग्रहः
४ तथा चार्थबोधकं ण्दं वचकम् -शक्तिवादे गदाधरः सामान्यकाण्डम्
५. तस्मादनित्या एवेति सर्वे वर्णा मतं हि नः- कारिकावली-१३८
६. तत्र शास्त्रप्रक्तियानिर्वाहको वर्णस्फोटः। वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तलघुमञ्जूषा
७. पदे न वर्णा विद्यन्ते वर्णेष्ववयवा न च।
वाक्यात् पदानामत्यन्तं प्रविवेको न कश्चन।। वाक्यपदीयम् १-७३
८. शब्दार्थप्रत्ययानामितरेतराध्यासात् संकरः
तत्प्रविभागासंयमात् सर्वभूतरुतज्ञानम् (योगसूत्रम् ३-१७)
९. वाग् वर्णेष्वर्थवती। योगभाष्यम् ३-१७
१०. (वर्णाः) प्रत्येकमपदस्वरूपा उच्यन्ते। तत्रैव।
११. वहवो वर्णाः क्रमानुरोधिनोऽर्थसंकेतेनावच्छिन्न इयन्त एते अर्थं द्योतयन्तीति। तत्रैव
१२. तदेतेषामर्थ संकेतेनावच्छिन्नानामुपसंहतध्वनिक्रमाणां य एको बुद्धिनिर्भासः तत् पदं वाचकम्। तत्रैव
१३. तदेकं पदं एकबुद्धिविषयम्। एकप्रयत्नाक्षिप्तम्। अभागम्, अक्रमम्, बौद्धम्। तत्रैव

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१४. अन्त्यवर्प्रत्ययव्यापारोपस्थापितम्। तत्रैव

१५. अनादिवाग्व्यवहारवासनानुविद्धया लोकबुद्ध्या सिद्धवत्सम्प्रतिपत्त्या प्रतीयते। तत्रैव

१८. पदं प्रविभज्य व्याकरणीयं क्रियावाचकं वा कारकवाचकं वा। तत्रैव

१९. विज्ञानभिक्षु- योगवार्तिकम् ३-१७, पु. ३३५

२०. भूषणसारे वर्णस्फोटः

२१. वर्णोभ्योऽतिरिक्तम् अखण्डम् एकदैवोत्पद्यमानं स्फोटाख्यम्।
तच्च स्फोटपदं वर्णभ्यो भिन्नाभिन्नम्। स च पदादयः शब्द अर्थस्फुटीकरणात् स्फोट इत्युच्यते। योगवार्तिकम्। पु. ३२५

२२. गौरित्येकपदमिति व्यवहारस्तु स्फोटे प्रमाणम्। तथा च प्रत्येकवर्णात् अनुत्पद्यमानस्यार्थसम्प्रत्ययस्य हेतुत्वं च स्फोटे प्रमाणम्। तत्रैव

२३. ते पदमसंस्पृश्य अनुपस्थाप्य आविर्भूतास्तिरोभूताश्च इति प्रत्येकमपदस्वरूपा उच्यन्ते । योगभाष्यम्।

२४. बहवो वर्णाः क्रमानुरोधिनः .... सर्वाभिधानशक्तिपरिवृताः .... अर्थ द्योतयन्तीति। तत्रैव।

२५. तत्रैव

२६. तत्रैव

२७. अनादिवाग्व्यवहारवासनानुविद्ध्या लोकबुद्ध्या . . .। तत्रैव

२८. संकेतस्तु पददार्षयोरितरेतराध्यासरूपः स्मृत्यात्मकः। तत्रैव

२९. परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः स्मृतिरूपः - ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यारम्भे।

३०. अध्यासः आरोपिताभेद इति यावत्। ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म इति शास्त्रेषु, कम्बुग्रीवादिमान् घट इत्यादि लोके. योगवार्तिके ३-१७

३१. तत्रैव

३२. सर्वपदेषु चास्ति वाक्यशक्तिः। योगभाष्यम् ३-१७

३३. वाक्ये पदपदार्थाभिव्यक्तिः। तत्रैव

३४. वाक्यपदीयम्। २-१८

३५. तत्रैव १-१०८

३६. भूषणसार-दर्पणव्याख्या - स्फोटनिर्णये वाक्यस्फोटः वाक्यस्फोटेनैवोपपत्तौ पदस्फोटकल्पनं नावश्यकम्।।

३७. वाक्यपदीयम् १-७३

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14

Kālidāsa and Indian Varṇa System

Dharmaraj Adat

With the disintegration of the classless society, Indian tribes entered in to a class society under the camouflage of cāturvarṇya, a social situation characterized by slavery and feudalism. It certainly upheld the salient features of feudalism reminiscent of Western countries.[1]

The disintegration of the pre-class society began during the end of the *Ṛgveda* itself. Not only the *Puruṣasūkta*, where we get a clear picture of the cāturvarṇya,[2] but also sūktas with the call for unity was also there in the Vedic hymns, which clearly indicate the announcement of disintegration.

"O men, let you walk together, speak together: let your minds be all of one accord, as ancient gods unanimous sit down to their appointed share. Let you who involved in the same activity have similar chants. Let your gathering be unified. Your mind and spirit be united. A common purpose do I lay before you, and worship with your general oblation. One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord. United be the thoughts of all that all may happily agree." (*ṚV*.X.191.2-4}

The formation and development of cāturvarṇya resulted in the hegemony of priest class. The simple ideas of the rituals and customs started before the formation of classes, as an effort on the part of the ancient society to control the mysterious environment beyond its logical and technical powers, and became more and more complicated and rigid with various rituals especially with animal sacrifices. Naturally, a new resistance arose against the brāhmin's hegemony under the leadership of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. The Buddhists, Jains, ajivakas and cārvakas became the champions

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of the age. People rallied under them and the brahmanical literature lost its influence. The situation is well explained by D. D. Kosambi: "Without exception, they actively or passively denied the validity of Vedic ritual and observances. In the study of these sects, the finer metaphysical differences are of lesser importance than the background phenomena of tribal life and the monstrous cancer growth of sacrificial ritual in the tribal kingdoms. It is out of these and as a protest against their anti-social features that, every one of the sects appeared. The greatest fruit of the yajña sacrifice was success in war; fighting was glorified for its own sake as the natural mode of life for kṣatriyas, while the brāhmin's duty and means of livelihood was the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The other two castes had the task of producing the surplus, which priest and warrior took away by natural right, originally for the good of the tribe, but soon for the good of the upper castes. The Vedic ritual was formulated in a pastoral age where large herds collectively owned were the main form of property. The new society had gone over to agriculture ...The ahiṁsā doctrine first expressed the basic fact that agriculture can support at least ten times the number of people per square mile than a pastoral economy in the same territory......New gods had to be invented thereafter, because Indra and his Vedic fellow-deities had been discredited and went out of fashion with their Vedic sacrifices." (D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay. 1975. P.166-167)

Buddha and Jaina questioned and denied the validity of Vedic rituals and observances. Buddhism, Jainism and other similar sects appeared in the society as a protest against the anti-social features of priestly class and their inhuman activities like cruel rituals in the tribal kingdoms. Because their society had gone over to agriculture, so that the slaughter of more and more animals and the growing number of sacrifices meant a much heavier drain upon producer and production. Not only was the number of cattle bred proportionately much less per head of population but they were then privately owned by clans or families rather than the tribes, and proved more valuable to the agriculturist than to herdsmen. Even the most passive

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of the sects above repudiated the use of ritual sacrifice, while the most active like Jainism and Buddhism based themselves upon ahiṁsā, "non-killing", as strongly opposed to war as to ritual sacrifice. Their activities affected greatly the caste system maintained by ritual killing. The literary monuments including the Vedic texts, which devoted entirely to the glory of yajñas, universal conquest and a murderous civil war fought to mutual annihilation.

The ajivikas and Lokāyatikas scrupulously criticized and attacked the Vedic yajñas and its value system as created by people who have no manliness or sense.

अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदाः त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुण्ठनम् ।
बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः ।।.......
त्रयो वेदस्य कर्तारो भण्ड-धूर्त-निशाचराः ।।

(The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves, and smearing one's self with ashes- Bṛhaspati says, these are but means of livelihood for those who have no manliness nor sense.....The three authors of the Vedas were buffoons, knaves, and demons. Quoted in *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*)

It is during this crisis the Brahmins with the help of *Bhagavadgītā* tried to maintain their power relations and after the advent of Gupta dynasty during the third century A.D., a new reformation started in the old cāturvarṇya social structure. Kālidāsa,[3] who flourished during these years, helped the Indian feudal system by propagating its philosophy, theology, customs and thinking through his beautiful and excellent poetry and dramatic works. Thus, he became the spokesman of his age. He pioneered the sprit of the age, became its prophet and the exponent.

Kālidāsa is one of the greatest storehouses of India's national heritage. An important fact that must be stated here is that nothing in Kālidāsa's life and works is free from dispute and contention. In spite of the celebrity status of his name; the time when he flourished always has been an unsettled question. Most scholars associate him with the reign of Chandra Gupta

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II (reigned c. 380 to 415). Numerous works have been attributed to his authorship. Among them *Ṛtusaṁhāra, Mālavikāgnimitra, Kumārasaṁbhava, Raghuvaṁśa, Abhijñānaśākuntala,* and *Vikramorvaśīya* are the seven works which are generally considered to be authentic. The composure of his artistic attainment has garnered him an elevated position in the galaxy of world literatures. His power of imagination holds a balanced fusion of the two elements of natural beauty and human feelings. Even in this century, he continues to beam throughout the world as the foremost exponent of Indian Sanskritic culture.[4]

The social atmosphere that reflects in the works of Kālidāsa is entirely different from the tradition of Buddha and Mahāvīra. In all respects it adheres to the later Vedic tradition of Brahmanic hegemony. For this not only in the plot, but also in developing it with new additions, even with folk elements to chop with the new situations, Kālidāsa was very earnest. Thus, not only the sages but also the hermitages were considered as the embodiment of the satvaguṇa. The hermitages as well as the villages were always depicted as humming with the Vedic spells and sacrificial smoke. The āśrama atmosphere depicted in *Raghuvaṁśa, Abhijñānaśākuntala* and *Vikramorvaśīya* is certainly noteworthy. It rouses the homesickness of a bygone age and makes the readers ardent lovers of that tradition. The main characters like Dilīpa, Raghu, Daśaratha, Duṣyanta etc. have performed great sacrifices several times.

Sacrifice is sanctified by the Vedas. It propitiates the gods. It is by their grace, especially by the grace of Indra that it rains on the earth. Therefore, it is the duty of the mankind to perform sacrifice with all its sanctity. Of course, this is the arguments of the priests and Kālidāsa in his *Śākuntala* glorifies these arguments through his beautiful verses like:

> तव भवतु विडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टि प्रजासु
> त्वमपि विततयज्ञः स्वर्गिणो भावयालम् ।
> युगशतपरिवर्त्तानेवमन्योन्यकृत्यैः
> नयतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ।। (७. ३४)

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(May Indra send copious rain for (the benefit of) thy subjects; and may rest thou with frequent sacrifices please him. Thus pass periods of hundreds of ages with reciprocal friendly offices laudable on account of the benefits conferred on both the worlds). He also expresses the same idea in *Raghuvaṁśa* verse I.26.

It is to be noted that Kālidāsa wrote this glorification of sacrifice, Brahmanism and Vedic deities like Indra, which includes the cruel custom of killing huge number of animals, as noted before, is after the lifetime of Buddha and Mahāvīra, who preached non-killing, truth, non-stealing, renunciation etc. as the prime motto of human life in the society.

Kālidāsa wrote his master pieces living in India after the above-mentioned historical epochs and his attitude were against the above mentioned value system. According to Kālidāsa Brāhmins were above human beings with superhuman powers. They can bestow wealth, sons and all kinds of prosperities to the needy. They can curse to cause utter calamity. On several occasions, Kālidāsa depicts Brāhmins with these super human powers in his works. Durvāsa and Vaikhānasas in *Śākuntala*; Bharata in *Vikramorvaśīya*; Mātaṅga in *Raghuvaṁśa*; Kubera in *Meghasandeśa*; Prajāpati and Nārada in *Kumārasambhava*; Siddhas in *Mālavikāgnimitra* etc. are some examples.

Penance is another concept that Kālidāsa tries to highlight through his works. There is nothing, that cannot be attained by penance. In *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa clearly illustrates this argument. Here, it is stated that Pārvatī succeeded to get Lord Śiva as her husband only because she underwent severe penance:

> इयेष सा कर्तुमवन्ध्यरूपताम्
> समाधिमास्थाय तपोभिरात्मनः।
> अवाप्यते वा कथमन्यथा द्वयं
> तथाविधं प्रेम पतिश्च तादृशः।। (५. २)

(She desired to make her beauty fruitful by penances after concentrating

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her mind; how could, otherwise, be won two things: love of that kind, and that kind of husband?)

The words uttered by Śiva towards Pārvatī, after her victory, again echo the same idea in a different way:

अद्य प्रभृत्यवनतांगि तवास्मि दासः
क्रीतस्तपोभिरिति वादिनि चन्द्रमौलौ।
अह्नाय सा नियमजं क्ळममुत्ससर्ज
क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते।। (५. ८६)

("From to-day on, I am thy slave, O maiden with stooping limbs! - won by thy penance". The moment Candraśekhara spoke thus, that very moment she gave up fatigue, born of her observance of her vow; for labour renovates one, when its fruit is reaped.) .

Kālidāsa did try to express his adherence to the Brāhmanical vision and mission whenever he could find an occasion to do so. Thus, for example, we may quote his utterances about the necessity to believe in the magic spells. The spells have the magic strength to eradicate even the invisible enemies - he argues:

तवमन्त्रकृतो मन्त्रैः दूरात् प्रशमितारिभिः।
प्रत्यादिश्यन्ते इव मे दृष्टलक्ष्यभिदः शराः.(रघु. १. ६१)

(By your spells-you who are a maker of spells- that from afar quell my enemies, my arrows that can hit but visible marks are as it were repelled (rendered useless)

It is because of the magic spells uttered by Vasiṣṭha that the chariot of Raghu attained its capacity to travel along the sea, sky and mountains without any obstructions!

वसिष्ठमन्त्रोक्षणजात् प्रभावाद्
उदन्वदाकाशमहीधरेषु।
मरुत्सखस्येव वलाहकस्य
गतिर्विजघ्ने न हि तद्रथस्य।। (रघु. ५. २७)

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(Through the power of its being sprinkled over by Vasiṣṭha to the accompaniment of holy chants, the curse of his chariots remained unimpeded over sea and sky and mountains, like that of a wind-borne cloud)

The concept 'Man makes himself' - is foreign to Indian feudalism. It always declares the insignificant nature of human beings. Man is only an instrument, a puppet that plays according to the ordinance of supernatural forces or gods. Kālidāsa through his works mainly proclaims the destiny-centered philosophy of feudalism. Everything is predetermined. Man is barehanded. He can do nothing against the fate. Kālidāsa, who declares the infallibility of supernatural elements and infirmity of human beings, becomes a humble servant of the feudal culture.

नास्ति विधेरलङ्घनीयं नाम (विक्र.), भवितव्यानुविधायिनीन्द्रियाणि (विक्र.), भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्वत्र (शाकु.), अवश्यंभाव्यचिन्तनीयः समागमो भविष्यति (शाकु.), रन्ध्रोपनिपातिनो विनिपाताः (शाकु.), भवितव्यता खलु बलवती, (शाकु.) These are some of his idioms by which he reveals his ardent desire to adhere to the above-mentioned philosophy.

Kālidāsa never hesitated to express his zeal repeatedly towards the Vedic culture through his similes and metaphors. Thus, he refers to the praṇava:

वैवस्वतो मनुर्नाम माननीयो मनीषिणाम्।
आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्यः प्रणवश्छन्दसामिव। (रघु. १.११)

(There once lived Manu, the sun of Vivasvān, highly honoured by the wise, who was first among earthly kings like 'Om' among the sacred triad.)

उद्घातः प्रणवो यासां न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम्।
कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्गस्तासां त्वं प्रभवो गिराम्।। (कुमार. २. १२)

(Thou art the source of speech that begins with the sacred syllable 'Om', which is uttered with the three accents, which results in action viz. sacrifice whose fruit is heaven.)

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The Brāhmin's concept, which artificially introduces the relationship between Vedas and Upaniṣads, is well established by Kālidāsa by a simple simile;

मङ्गलालङ्कृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया।
त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव समं अध्यात्मविद्यया।। (मालविका. १. १४)

(Being decked with auspicious ornaments, and accompanied by Kauśikī in the garb of an ascetic the queen looks like the sacred triad embodied, accompanied by the science of metaphysics.)

The Vedas and Smṛtis are considered as the basic texts embedded with the fundamentals of the feudal ethics. Even though, there is no chronological or idealistic relationship, the Brāhmanical tradition considers the Smṛtis as texts formed with Vedic base, for their acceptance among the people. Because, Smṛtis were the law books formulated by the upper class to maintain their hegemony in the society. It is the same intellect that is employed here, which declared the four-caste system, as created by the god-head (चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टम्) and gave it sanctity and acceptance. Kālidāsa with a beautiful simile inculcates the same idea into the readers more effectively:

तस्याः खुरन्यासपवित्रपांसुमपांसुलानां धुरि कीर्त्तनीया।
मार्गं मनुष्येश्वरधर्मपत्नी श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्।। (रघु. २. २)

(The lawful consort of the king, who was worthy to be reckoned the foremost of chaste women, followed the way she (the cow) went, hallowing the dust on it with the tread of her hoofs, even as Smṛti follows the sense of Śruti)

It is to be remembered that the idioms like 'upamā Kālidāsasya' became well spread among the readers through these usages.

Another important concept that Indian cāturvarṇya system put forward is the idea of rebirth and karma. Kālidāsa never hesitated to propagate these concepts through his works. The edifice of *Kumārasambhava* rests upon this

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concept. Pārvatī is the rebirth of Satī, the daughter of Dakṣaprajāpati, who cast off her mortal coil in her previous birth in the yogic fire being impatient to the humiliation meted out to by her father.

> अथावमानेन पितुः प्रयुक्ता दक्षस्य कन्या भवपूर्वपत्नी।
> सती सती योगविसृष्टदेहा तां जन्मने शैलवधूं प्रपेदे।। (कुमार. १. २०)

(Then, the chaste Satī, Dakṣa's daughter, and the former wife of Śiva, impelled by the insult of her father, cast off her body by the pathway of yoga, and resorted to the spouse of the mountain for birth.)

This story is repeated at another occasion in the same work through the words of Nārada (1.53). When the poet describes the childhood of Pārvatī, he again asserts the above concepts by saying that Pārvatī attained the learning of her previous birth, (प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्याः। १.२९). During the svayamvara of Indumatī and Aja, the poet again says: मनो हि जन्मान्तरसंगतिज्ञम्। (7. 15). (Verily the mind is conscious of the companionship of a former birth). In *Abhijñānaśākuntala* also he repeats the same idea in a different way: तच्चेतसा नूनमबोधपूर्वं भावस्थिराणि जन्मान्तरसौहृदानि। (5. 2) (Surely, without being conscious man remembers in his mind the friendship of a former birth deeply rooted there in the form of impressions.) On several occasions, he asserts the inevitability of karma in former births.

Cow worship was another feature of Indian feudalism. 'गोब्राह्मणेभ्यो नमः' was the slogan that echoed everywhere in the society of those days. The Brāhmanical hegemony insisted it on every occasion. In his works, Kālidāsa never hesitated to repeat the same. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, there is the story of king Dilīpa, Kāmadhenu and Nandinī, the daughter of Kāmadhenu in detail. It is stated that it is the curse of Kāmadhenu that caused the infertility of Dilīpa. Because of the busy schedule of Kāmadhenu, the sage Vasiṣṭha suggests the propitiation of Nandinī, instead of her mother for his fertility. Accordingly, Dilīpa together with his queen Sudakṣiṇā made all efforts to please Nandinī to get freed from the curse of Kāmadhenu.

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The concept of Hindu triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, of course a latter addition in Indian cultural and religious scenario is another important aspect, which played a prominent role in sustaining the system of cāturvarṇya. Critics say that Kālidāsa is a devotee of Śiva. He starts his three plays and one mahākāvya giving tribute to Śiva in the form of aṣṭamūrti, viśvamūrti and Jagatpitā. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, he proclaims that 'महेश्वरः त्र्यम्बक एव नापरः' (Maheśvara denotes the three-eyed god alone III.48). Yet he does not have any humiliation towards Brahmā or Viṣṇu. In *Kumārasambhava* (second canto) and in *Raghuvaṁśa* (tenth canto) he eulogizes Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively in glowing terms. Thus, we can say that Kālidāsa represents the Vedic wisdom, which proclaim- 'एकं सद् विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति' which he clearly explains in *Kumārasambhava*:

नमः त्रिमूर्त्तये तुभ्यं प्राक्सृष्टेः केवलात्मने।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद् भेदमुपेयुषे।। (कुमार. २. ४)

(Glory to thee, triple in form, who was of one uniform nature before creation, and who later underwent transformation into forms of triple quality.)

एकैव मूर्त्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधासौ सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम्।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद्वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ।। (कुमार. ७. ४४)

(Just one form was divided three-fold; equally great were they; sometimes Viṣṇu took precedence over Hara, sometimes Hara over Viṣṇu, sometimes Brahmā over both and sometimes both over Brahmā)

Thus, "(Kālidāsa) was essentially an eclectic in his religion and philosophy for, if *Kumārasambhava* is distinctly Śaivaistic, the *Raghuvaṁśa* is no less distinctly Vaiṣṇavite in tendency; while vedantic monism or sāṁkhya dualism, or the active devotion of yoga equally engaged his regard; so that, as Ryder says, 'Kālidāsa moved among the jarring sects with sympathy for all, fanaticism for none'.....Above all, his writings are coloured with the suffusion of a charmed equanimity and give the impression of a man who walked the earth with a serene and god-like tread, with mind and senses

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keenly responsive to every form of beauty, and accepting life and the good things it offers in a spirit of sublime acquiescence" (C. R. Devadhar, *Works of Kālidāsa*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Vol. I, 1991, Introduction. P. XI.)

We can quote enough proofs to illustrate Kālidāsa's vision and mission, which he propagates through his works. Each proof clearly illustrates that the concepts that he intended to propagate through his works are nothing but the god or destiny centered concepts of Indian feudalism, which proclaim the insignificant nature of human beings. Through his beautiful poetic works, he tried to chanalise all its rituals, beliefs and customs into the main stream of the existing society. In short, it is better to quote the words of Dr. K. Krishnamurthy as the concluding remarks: "If Indian rhetoricians regard him as a prince of master poets, and his works as the highest peak of poetic achievement, it is because the lives of his characters are all imbued with the chastening spirit of vedantic religion" (*Kālidāsa*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1997. p.129.)

Notes

1. For a detailed discussion see, E.M.S. Nambudirippad, *Kerala: Society and Politics*, Chinta Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1988. P.17-18, also see *Emssinte Diary*, Chinta Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram ,1996, Vol. I. Pp. 184-185, 225-226.etc.
2. ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः।
   ऊरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत।। (X.९०.१२)
3. As everybody knew, we have got nothing regarding the life history of Kālidāsa except some legends and exaggerated stories. Kālidāsa was supposed to have been extremely dull as a child and hence growing up quite unschooled. Through the matchmaking efforts of a shrewd minister, he was married to a princess who was pretty mortified viewing his ignorance and vulgarity, Kālidāsa, a fervid worshipper of Kāli, then pleased his goddess and was honoured with abrupt gift of brainpower and common sense. He became the most magnificent of the much re-called nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya of Ujjain.
4. Even though, Kālidāsa is acclaimed with lofty words as the greatest poet that ever lived, unexcelled by any of the dramatists or poets who wrote in Sanskrit language, it has been discovered that he had his literary weaknesses.

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He exhibited little interest in the social problems of his times; his plays do not reflect the turbulent times in which he lived; he felt no understanding for the bunch of the common man; his works are overtaxed with the descriptions and is soppy inwardly and at times uncouth. Kālidāsa loved the softer side of nature; he cites tranquil and pleasant ashramas, river banks, gardens, palaces, bumble-bee, deer, cuckoo etc. Great was his love for the Himalayas. He was an abider of the Vedic Sanatana dharma. He believed in the varṇa-āśrama social order consisting of four castes and four āśramas. His poetry is an approach to the world from the Indian heritage, culture and civilization.

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15

Social & Religious Teachings of Buddhism

Narasingha Ch. Panda

Buddhism is undoubtedly one of the oldest systems of Indian Philosophy. The life of Gautama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist School of thought, is well known. He was born some two thousand and six hundred years ago on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, in the city of Kapilavastu. He intently retired to the forest and deeply pursued various existing systems of Indian religious and philosophical disciplines, until he returned to find out for himself his own code of life. Following that and after a stupendous struggle of six strenuous years, in his 35th year Gautama became 'a Buddha'. The term 'Buddha' means the 'Enlightened One' or the 'Awakened One' and signifies that the person to whom it is applied has solved the riddle of existence, and discovered the doctrine for the cessation of misery. After obtaining the great knowledge of truth, he went about preaching his newly acquired doctrine in Saranath, Magadha, Kośala and elsewhere until his death, i.e. Mahāparinirvāṇa in Kuśinagara.

In the *Jātaka* texts, twenty-four mythical Buddhas are mentioned to have appeared before Gautama in preceding cycles of time. Many particulars about them are given, including their birthplaces, the length of their lives and their statures. Gautama himself is said to have met some of them during his transmigrations. Even the sacred trees under which they obtained Supreme Wisdom are enumerated. Their names are: Dīpaṅkara, Kauṇḍinya, Maṅgala, Sumana, Raivata, Sobhita, Anomadarśin, Padma, Nārada, Padmottara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Priyardarśin, Arthadarśin, Dharmadarśin, Siddhārtha, Tiṣya, Puṣya, Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kāśyapa. The Buddhavaṁśa adds three

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more names with this list, viz. Taṇhaṅkara, Meghaṅkara, and Śaraṇaṅkara. Thus, the number goes up to twenty-seven. The *Lalitavistara* gives a list of fifty-five Buddhas. These Buddhas have really enriched Buddhism by contributing their valuable advices and teachings for the welfare of the society.

The earliest account of the life of Gautama Buddha is contained in *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and contains an autobiography of Buddha. In addition to the numerous legends about the life of Buddha, which sometimes are contradictory with each other, there are five ancient works giving us the glimpses of the life and teachings of Buddha, viz. (1) The *Mahāvastu*, (2) the *Lalitavistara*, (3) the *Buddhacarita*, (4) the *Nidānakathā*, (5) the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*. Besides these, there are stray pieces in Sanskrit and Pāli, depicting certain periods or events in the life of Buddha. From these old records as well as from the traditions and legends that have easily come down to us, we are in a position to reconstruct, more or less accurately, the life of Gautama Buddha.

Lord Buddha recruited a large number of devotees who became monks, and framed a new monastic order having monasteries built for them by the lay-devotees. He also framed the general rules for the saṅgha or the assemblage of monks, and permitted relaxation of these rules in extraordinary circumstances. He was primarily interested in the cloistered life of a hermit. He emphasized the psycho-ethical training, which would enable a bhikkhu to know the reality or *tathata* and attain eternal wisdom or Nirvāṇa. He advised the bhikkhus as:

> *yo mukhosanyato bhikhuī mantravāṇī anuddhataī,*
> *artha dharmaśca dīpayati madhuram tasya bhāṣitam.*[1]

It means, the mendicant or bhikhu who controls his tongue, who speaks wisely, not uplifted, who illuminates the meaning and the law, his utterance is sweet. He further advises: he whose pleasure is the law (dharma), who delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that mendicant does not fall from the true law.[2]

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The *Dhammapada* has given much importance on Lord Buddha's moral advice and even instructed to all the Bhikhus to follow it perfectly. It says : the mendicant who lives in friendliness and calm (has faith) in the doctrine of the Buddha, he will attain the tranquil, blessed place where bodily existence is the rest.[3]

However, Lord Buddha was very positive for the mental and physical upliftment of the monks. He taught common people, how to exercise their will, and realize in themselves the highest possibilities that are open to human beings. He advised them not to waste their time on splitting hairs about the formalities of religion. Ignorance is the main cause of all human sufferings. No one gets freedom unless he tries to remove these through the practice of religious austerity, sacrifices and other spiritual acts prescribed by the Holy Scriptures. He says one should obtain from bodily enjoyments and desires to get rid of pain and sufferings.[4] Likewise, Gautama Buddha also tried to free human beings from the chain of sufferings through his teachings, which may be said to be threefold: Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path and the Doctrine of Dependent Origination.

The four noble truths (catvāri-āryasatyāni) are: (1) Duḥkha (suffering) (2) duḥkhasamudayo (cause of suffering), (3) duḥkhanirodha (cessation of suffering) (4) duḥkhanirodha-gāmini pratipada (way for leading to the cessation of suffering).

The noble eightfold path (Ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga) consists of eight steps which are: (1) samyag dṛṣṭi (right views) (2) samyag saṅkalpa (right resolve) (3) saṃyag vāk (right speech) (4) samyak karmānta (right action), (5) samyag ājīva (right living) (6) samyag vyāyāma (right effort or exertion) (7) samyak smṛti (right thought or recollection) (8) samyak samādhi (right meditation or concentration).

In the old scriptures, we also find mention of a triple path consisting of śīla (conduct), samādhi (concentration) and prajñā (wisdom). They roughly correspond to darśana, jñāna and caritra of Jainism. Śīla and samādhi lead

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to prajñā, which is the direct cause of liberation or nirvāṇa. Buddha's ethical 'middle path' is like the 'golden mean' of Aristotle. In his very first sermon at Saranath, he has stated: there are two extremes, from which he who leads a religious life must abstain. One is a life of pleasure, devoted to desire and enjoyment: that is base, ignoble, unspiritual and unreal. The other is a life of mortification: it is gloomy, unworthy and unreal. There is a 'middle path', discovered by the Buddha, a path which enlightens the eyes, enlightens the mind, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvāṇa.

The doctrine of 'Pratīyasamutpāda' or dependent origination is the foundation of all the teachings of Gautama Buddha. Due to the chain of phenomenal cause and effect the birth and rebirth occur. It tells us that in the empirical world dominated by the intellect everything is relative, conditional, dependent, subject to birth and death and therefore impermanent. The causal formula is: this being, that arises (*asmin sati idam bhavati*), i.e. depending on the cause, the effect arises. We get the twelve links (dvādaśa nidāna) of the causal wheel of dependent origination, viz. avidyā (ignorance), saṁskāra (impression of kārmic forces), vijñāna (consciousness), nāma-rūpa (psycho-physical organism), ṣaḍāyatana (six sense organs including mind), sparśa (sense object contact), vedanā (feeling), tṛṣṇā (craving), upādāna (clinging to this enjoyment), bhava (process of becoming), jāti (rebirth), jarāmaraṇa (old age & death). Out of these twelve links, the first two are related to past life, the last two to future life and the rest to present life. This is the cycle of birth and death. Besides, this is the twelve-spoked wheel of dependent origination. It is called the bhava-cakra, saṁsāra-cakra, dharma-cakra, janma-maraṇa-cakra, etc. It can be destroyed only when its root cause, ignorance, is destroyed. Ignorance (avidyā) can be destroyed only by sacred wisdom or knowledge. Hence, ignorance is bondage and knowledge is liberation (Nirvāṇa).

Therefore, the doctrine of dependent origination is the central teaching of the Buddha and his other teachings can easily be deduced from it as

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corollaries. The theory of karma is based on this, being an implication of the law of causation. Our present life is due to the impressions of the karmas of the past life and it will shape our future life. In the earlier system of Buddhist thought, the doctrine of karma plays a very important role, in as much as, this law explains completely the process of evolution. In fact, in the *Milinda Pañha*, we find that Nāgasena says: "it is through a difference in their karma that men are not all like. But some long lived, some short lived, some healthy and some sickly, some handsome and some ugly, some powerful and some weak, some rich and some poor, some of high degree and some of low degree, some wise and some foolish." The Lord Buddha himself has formulated in so many words the existence of this theory of karma. When a persecuted disciple came to Lord Buddha, the Lord consoled him with the words "suffer it be so, oh Bhikkhu, you are now feeling the results of your karma, that might have cost you centuries of suffering in purgatory."

Nirvāṇa constitutes the highest and ultimate goal of all Buddhist aspirations. The word Nirvāṇa means 'blowing out'. It is the dissolution of the five skandhas. It is the cessation of all activities and of all becoming (bhava-nirodha). It is said to be the Supreme and indestructible state, which gives happiness here and hereafter. So it is known as the 'highest bliss'. In the early Buddhism, however, there are passages, which indicated that Nirvāṇa means eternal and exalted beatitude. The *Dhammapada* says:

> *ārogyā parama lābhā santuṭṭhi paramaṁ dhanam,*
> *vissāma paramā jāti nibbāṇaṁ paramaṁ sukham.*[5]

Regarding the importance of Nirvāṇa the famous Buddhist scholar Mrs. Rhys Davids is of the opinion that – only in Buddhism does the conception of freedom from pain remain purely a negative and not a positive in disguise heavenly Bliss.

Gautama Buddha denied the existence of a permanent substratum of Reality or the Self. This is known as the theory of not self or anātma-

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vāda. According to Buddhism, consciousness (vijñāna), which operates to project a new being or 'nāma-rūpa' into existence, is not a transmigratory soul, but is merely a saṁskāra, which is changeable and unsubstantial in character. In the *Milinda Pañcha*, it is stated that, just as a body is a complex of many parts or elements, so also, what we call a jīva or an individual, is a similar complex of physical and psychical elements, and that, both were ultimately liable to dissolution into their component elements. Thus, the theory of non-existence of the soul (anātmavāda) amounts only to a denial of the estimative persistence of it. This theory of anātmavāda has been much misunderstood and has been responsible for a lot of confusion in later philosophy. However, if we clearly analyze the pristine teachings of Buddha, we find that he, as a practical teacher that he was, refused to define in terms of language, an experience, that transcends thought itself. He really wanted human beings to practice his teachings and experience for themselves, the 'great truth', and was not interested in verbal quarrels about its nature and principles.

The vast Buddhist literature is full of Gautam Buddha's moral teachings. If the moral value of the people will not go up, then the society will not progress properly. The people will not exist in the society with peace, happiness and true prosperity. Hence, to uplift the moral value of the people, Lord Buddha rightly advised to follow the path of Ahiṁsā, satya and sat-karma. He always advised his disciples to follow the path of Ahiṅsā, i.e. non-violence. Hence, he says: 'he is not an ascetic' (samaṇa) who causes grief to others.

na hi pravajjitaḥ paropaghātī samoṇo bhavati param viheḍamānaḥ.[6]

Lord Buddha always stressed to follow the path of truth. Hence, he says: "*satyam bhaṇe na kudheta*" [7]– One should speak the truth and leave anger. In addition to these Buddha advised to follow the law of virtue, and not to follow the law of sin, because, he who practices virtues lives happily in the world as well as in the world beyond.[8] In short the moral advice of Buddha is as follows:

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sarvapāpasyākaraṇaṁ kuśalasyopasampadā,
svacittaparyavadāpanaṁ etad buddhanāṁ śāsanam.[9]

It means, the eschewing of all evil the perfecting of all good deeds, the purifying of one's mind, this is the teaching of Buddhas.

The Buddhist Sanskrit literature is also enriched by his invaluable spiritual and moral teachings. A number of texts were written on the life history of the Buddha and his disciples, i.e. Buddhist monks. The various Buddhist concepts like: duḥkha (sorrow), vedanā (pain), tṛṣṇā (craving), avidyā (ignorance), satya (truth), jñāna (knowledge), karuṇā (compassion), śīla (character), samādhi (state of profound meditation), prajñā (wise), karma (action) and nirvāṇa (salvation). Through these basic concepts a number of texts were composed by different scholars of the Sanskrit literature, like Aśvaghoṣa, Vaśvabandhu, etc.

This way, Lord Buddha's social, moral and religious teachings have a great importance today for the common people to live in peace and to maintain goodwill in the society. Besides, the basic principles of Buddhism are full of moral and ethical values, which may provide proper discipline, self-confidence, sacred thoughts, energetic livelihood and true concentration of mind to the seeker of truth and spiritual harmony.

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शुक्रनीति में कार्मिक प्रबन्धन समसामायिकता एवं प्रासङ्गिकता

उषा श्रेष्ठ

शुक्रनीति आचार्य शुक्राचार्य कृत नीतिप्रतिपादित ग्रन्थ है जो पाँच अध्यायों में विभक्त है। राजा, राज्य और जनता इस ग्रन्थ के तीन प्रमुख तत्त्व हैं। यद्यपि आचार्य कौटिल्य, महामति विदुर इत्यादि अनेक नीतिज्ञों ने भी अपने अपने ग्रन्थों में राजकर्मचारियों के हितों के संरक्षण के लिए नीतियाँ प्रतिपादित की है परन्तु कार्मिक प्रबन्धन का जैसा स्पष्ट स्वरूप शुक्रनीति में वर्णित है वैसा अन्यत्र कहीं प्राप्त नहीं होता।

कर्मचारियों एवं अधिकारियों के मध्य सामञ्जस्य बनाए रखने के लिए तथा संस्था के वांछित लाभ प्राप्ति हेतु नियुक्त कर्मचारियों की सेवाशर्तों, उनकी सुविधाओं, कर्त्तव्यों आदि का प्रबन्धन शुक्रनीति के अनेक प्रसंगों में उल्लिखित है। कर्मचारी के सेवाकाल से लेकर मृत्युपर्यन्त उसके हित का संरक्षण करना, राजा का कर्त्तव्य तथा आपत्ति में भी राजा की रक्षा करना, उत्कोच न लेना तथा राजा के समक्ष यथार्थ स्थिति को ही प्रकट करना कर्मचारी का दायित्व कहा गया है।

> स्वस्त्रीपुत्रधनप्राणैः काले संरक्षयेन्नृपम्।
> उत्कोचं नैव गृह्णीयान्नान्यथा बोधयेन्नृपम्।। (शु.नी. २/२७१)

इस प्रकार शुक्रनीति के द्वितीय अध्याय के विभिन्न श्लोकों (शु.नीति २/२३०, २५०, २५४ आदि) में राजा एवं कर्मचारियों के गुणों एवं कर्त्तव्यों का वर्णन किया गया है। आधुनिक युग में भी कर्मचारियों एवं अधिकारियों के लिए आचारण नियम (conduct rules) बनाए गए है जिसमें do's तथा don'ts for you के अन्तर्गत कर्मचारियों एवं अधिकारियों के कर्त्तव्यों का निर्धारण किया गया हैं। वेतन की प्राप्त्याशा से ही कर्मचारीवृन्द राजकीय सेवा का कार्य करते हें, अत एव शुक्र ने तीन प्रकार के वेतनभोगियों की चर्चा की है।

> कार्यमाना कालमाना कार्यकालमितिस्त्रिधा।
> भृतिरुक्ता तु तद्विज्ञैः सा देया भाषिता यथा।। (शु.नी २/३९२)

कार्यमाना (कार्य के परिमाण के अनुसार दिये जाने वाले वेतन), कालमाना (समय की अवधि के अनुसार दिये जाने वाले वेतन), तथा कार्यकालमिति अर्थात् कार्य और काल के अनुसार दिये जाने वाले वेतन। आधुनिक युग में इन्हीं तीन प्रकार के वेतनभोगियों का विवरण प्राप्त होता है।

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वेतन के साथ साथ शुक्र ने नियत समय पर वेतन देने एवं हीनभृति न देने का प्रस्ताव किया है तथा कारण यह बताया है कि हीनभृति के कारण आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति न होने से कर्मचारीवृन्द राजकीय कार्यों के अतिरिक्त अन्य कार्यों में लग जाते है तथा राजा के दोषों को छिद्रान्वेषी प्रवृत्ति से खोजते रहते हैं।[२]

शुक्राचार्य का कार्मिक प्रबन्धन राजकीय पदाधिकारियों एवं कर्मचारियों की नियुक्ति (appointment) पदोन्नति (promotion), पदच्युति (demotion), स्थानान्तरण (transfer), पदमुक्ति (retirement), पेंशन (pension), पारितोषिक (increment), अधिलाभांश (bonus) आदि पर आधारित था। यथा-

कर्मचारी कुशलता एवं दक्षतापूर्वक कार्य करता रहे, इसके लिए पदोन्नति की व्यवस्था की गई तथा इस पदोन्नति का मानक योग्यता एवं अनुभव माना गया। उनका मत है कि यह पदोन्नति कर्मठ कर्मचारी को तब तक मिलनी चाहिए जब तक वह प्रधान पुरुष के पद तक न पहुंच जाए।

यथा यथा श्रेष्ठपदे ह्यधिकारी यथा भवेत्।
अनुक्रमेण संयोज्यो ह्यन्ते तं प्रकृतिं नयेत्।। (शु.नी. २/११५)

इसी प्रकार अयोग्य व्यक्ति को पदच्युत करने का प्रबन्ध था। पदच्युति प्रबन्धन के विषय में शुक्राचार्य की यह नीति थी कि यदि एक सौ प्रजा साथ मिलकर किसी अधिकारी के विरुद्ध आवेदन पत्र भेजें तो उस पदाधिकारी को पदच्युत कर देना चाहिए।

प्रजाशतेन सन्द्विष्टं सन्त्यजेदधिकारिणम्। (शु. नी. १.३७६)

आधुनिक युग में जहाँ 'नोट के बदले वोट' की नीति है, वहाँ शुक्राचार्य द्वारा प्रतिपादित यह नीति युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होती। आधुनिक युग में चरित्र का सर्वथा ध्वंस ही परिलक्षित होता है। सम्भवतः शुक्राचार्य के समाज में व्यक्ति सदाचरण से युक्त होता था, इसलिए ही उस समय पदच्युति की ऐसी व्यवस्था थी। जिन कर्मचारियों में परोपकार, सत्याचरण आदि गुणों का अभाव हो, उन्हें भी पदच्युत करने का निर्देश शुक्रनीति में प्राप्त होता है।

इसी प्रकार लम्बी अवधि तक कार्य करते रहने से कर्मचारियों में पदजनित् दम्भ न आ जाए, इस कारण से स्थानान्तरण प्रबन्धन किया गया। स्थानान्तरण के लिए तीन, पाँच, सात तथा दस वर्षों की अवधि का निर्धारण किया गया। स्थानान्तरण कार्यकुशलता के आधार पर ही किये जाने का विधान था।

त्रिभिर्वा पञ्चभिर्वापि सप्तभिर्दशभिश्च वा।। (शु.नी. २.११०)
दृष्ट्वा तत्कार्यकौशल्ये तथा तौ परिवर्त्तयेत्।। (शु.नी. २.१११)

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स्थानान्तरण के पश्चात् उस रिक्त पद पर किसी सहायक अथवा सक्षम व्यक्ति को नियुक्त करने की व्यवस्था थी।[३] कर्मचारी अपने कर्त्तव्य के प्रति निष्ठावान रहे, इसलिए वेतन वृद्धि का प्रबन्ध था। इस वेतन वृद्धि का मापदण्ड भी अनुभव एवं योग्यता के आधार पर था।

यथा यथा तु गुणवान् भृतकस्तद्भृतिस्तथा।
संयोज्या तु प्रयत्नेन नृपेणात्महिताय वै।। (शु.नी.२.३९८)

इसी प्रकार कर्मचारी को उसके वेतन का आठवां भाग प्रतिवर्ष पारितोषिक के रूप में पृथक् रूप में देने की व्यवस्था थी किन्तु यदि किसी कर्मचारी ने शीघ्रतापूर्वक कार्य का निष्पादन किया है तो उसे भी अष्टमांश देने का प्रावधान शुक्रनीति में प्राप्त होता है।

अष्टमांश पारितोष्यं दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे।
कार्याष्टमांशं वा दद्यात् कार्यं द्रागधिकं कृतम्।। (शु.नी. २.४१२)

सैनिकों द्वारा कोई नवीन उत्कृष्ट पराक्रम सम्बन्धी कार्य करने पर भी उचित पारितोषिक दिये जाने की व्यवस्था थी।[४] इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था सम्भवतः कर्मचारी को प्रसन्न करने के लिए ही बनाई गई होगी जिससे कर्मचारी संस्था के हित में ही अपना व्यक्तिगत हित समझें।

कर्मचारी के सेवा करते हुए कार्य निष्पादन की आयु पूर्ण कर लेने पर उसे आधा वेतन पेंशन के रूप में देने का भी प्रबन्ध था। कर्मचारी के अतिरिक्त पेंशन का आधा भाग कर्मचारी के सुशीला पत्नी एवं अविवाहित कन्या या नाबालिग संतानों को देने का प्रावधान था।

चत्वारिंशत् समा नीताः सेवया येन वै नृपः।
ततः सेवां विना तस्मै भृत्यर्द्धं कल्पयेत् सदा।। (शु.२.४१०)

पिता ही परिवार के प्रति उत्तरदायी होता है किन्तु यदि किसी कारणवश पिता अपने परिवार का भरण पोषण न कर पाये तो उसकी सुशीला पत्नी तथा संतानें पिता के पेंशन के आधे भाग पर अपना अधिकार स्थापित कर सकते हैं। आधुनिक युग में भी पेंशन की यही रीति है। अन्तर मात्र यही है कि अब सेवा का कार्यकाल न्यूनतम तैंतीस वर्ष कर दिया गया है। इस प्रकार शुक्र प्रतिपादित कार्मिक प्रबन्धन में सेवक के साथ-साथ उसके परिवार के भरणपोषण का उत्तरदायित्व भी अधिकारी का ही कहा गया है।

कर्मचारियों को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए वर्ष में पन्द्रह दिन का अधिलाभांश देने की भी व्यवस्था थी।

सेवां विना नृपः पक्षं दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे। (शु. २.४०९)

शुक्रनीति में कार्मिक प्रशासन का जो स्वरूप मिलता है, उसमें कर्मचारी भविष्य निधि (जीवन आरक्षानिधि) जैसी योजना का भी संकेत मिलता है, क्योंकि आचार्य शुक्र का मत है कि भृत्य के

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वेतन का छठां या चौथा भाग काटकर राजा को अपने पास संचित करते रहना चाहिए और जब दो या तीन वर्ष बीत जाए, तब सम्पूर्ण या आधी मुद्रा (धन) कर्मचारी को प्रदान कर देना चाहिए।

षष्ठांशं वा चतुर्थांशं भृतेर्भृत्यस्य पालयेत्।
दद्यात् तदर्द्धं भृत्याय द्वित्रिवर्षेऽखिलं तु वा।। (शु. नी. २.४१४)

चिकित्सकीय अवकाश और वेतनयुक्त या वेतनरहित तथा आंशिक वेतन के साथ अवकाश की शर्तो एवं व्यवस्था का विस्तृत वर्णन भी शुक्रनीति में प्राप्त होता है। आधुनिक प्रारूप के समान ही नियमित वेतन पर रखे गए कर्मचारियों का एक अहोरात्र में पन्द्रह घंटे के अवकाश का प्रावधान कहा गया, इस प्रकार नियमित वेतन पर कार्य करने वाले कर्मचारी का कार्यकाल नौ घण्टे का माना गया। यदि सेवक गृह का कार्य करता है तो उसे रात्रि में तीन पहर तथा दिन में एक पहर का अवकाश देने का प्रावधान था।

भृत्यानां गृहकृत्यार्थं दिवा यामं समुत्सृजेत्।
निशि यामत्रयं नित्यं दिनभृत्येऽर्द्धयामकम्।। (शु.नी. २.४०४)

उत्सवों के दिन अथवा जिस कर्मचारी को श्राद्धकर्म करना हो, उस दिन के अवकाश का प्रावधान भी शुक्रनीति में प्राप्त होता है किन्तु यदि कोई कार्य अति आवश्यक हो तो उसे उत्सव के दिन भी करा लेना चाहिए, ऐसा निर्देश भी शुक्रनीति में कथित है।

तेभ्यः कार्यं कारयेत् ह्युत्सवाद्यैर्विना नृपः।
अत्यावश्यं तूत्सवेऽपि हित्वा श्राद्धदिनं सदा।। (शु.नी. २.४०५)

चिकित्सकीय अवकाश से सम्बन्धित वेतन की इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था थी कि पाँच वर्ष तक कार्यरत रहने के बाद सेवक व्याधिग्रस्त हो जाए तो उसे एक चौथाई वेतन काटकर भृति दे। इसके बाद यदि वह वर्षभर व्याधिग्रस्त रहे तो त्रैमासिक वेतन दे अथवा उसके रोग के अनुसार उसे कम या अधिक भृति दे।

पादहीनं भृतिं त्वार्ते दद्यात् त्रैमासिकीं ततः।
पञ्चवत्सरभृत्ये तु न्यूनाधिक्यं यथा यथा।। (शु.नी. २.४०६)

दीर्घकाल तक रोगयुक्त रहने पर अर्द्धवार्षिक वेतन तथा इससे ज्यादा समय तक रोगग्रस्त रहने पर पूरा वेतन काटने का प्रावधान था किन्तु एक सप्ताह तक रोगग्रस्त कर्मचारी का वेतन न काटा जाए, ऐसा नियम भी शुक्रनीति में परिलक्षित होता है।

षाण्मासिकीं तु दीर्घार्ते तदूर्ध्वं न च कल्पयेत्।
नैव पक्षार्द्धमार्तस्य हातव्याल्पापि वै भृतिः।। (शु.नी. २.४०७)

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यदि कोई राजसेवक व्याधि के कारण एक वर्ष का अवकाश ले ले तो उसकी जगह उसी के निर्णीत व्यक्ति को उसका प्रतिनिधि स्वीकार कर कार्य लिये जाने की व्यवस्था थी तथा यदि वह सेवक अत्यन्त गुणवान हो तो उसे हर स्थिति में आधा वेतन दिये जाने का विधान था।

कर्मचारी के कार्यवश राजधानी से बाहर जाने पर उसे मूल वेतन का तीसवां भाग यात्रा भत्ता के रूप में देने का प्रबन्ध था।

पारदेश्यञ्च त्रिंशांशमधिकं तद्धनव्ययात्। (शु.नी. ५.८९)

आधुनिक युग में भी यह नियम प्रचलित है तथा यात्रा भत्ता पद, साधन तथा दूरी के आधार पर दिया जाता है।

इस प्रकार आधुनिक युग के समान ही शुक्राचार्य प्रतिपादित कार्मिक प्रबन्धन में योग्यता, अनुभव एवं कार्य के अनुरूप वेतन[५] की स्पष्ट नीति परिलक्षित होती है। शुक्राचार्य ने पदनियुक्ति, पदोन्नति, स्थानान्तरण, पदमुक्ति आदि के आधार पर कार्मिक प्रबन्धन का जैसा स्वरूप वर्णित किया है, वे देशकाल के भेद के साथ उसी रूप में कार्मिक विभाग द्वारा आज भी अनुमन्य हैं। इसकी समसामयिकता एवं प्रासङ्गिकता वर्णित करना सूर्य को दीप दिखाने के समान ही है।

सन्दर्भ सूची

१. स्वामी हैंडबुक पृष्ठ संख्या - २२१

२. शुक्रनीति - २.४००

३. शुक्रनीति - २.११४

४. शुक्रनीति - ४.७.२६२ - ३७२

५. शुक्रनीति - २.७१, ४.७.२८, ४.७.३५१, ४.७.३९०

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Computer Aided validation of Ancient Grammatical Claims

Leena Hunnargikar, Malhar Kulkarni

Pāṇini's grammar of Sanskrit (500-350BCE) is the oldest surviving grammar with a continued tradition. There are certain important and relevant concepts discussed in this grammar which can be tested and validated with the help of computer tools. In this paper, we have presented one such case described in Pāṇini's grammar in the field of Phonetics. The word saṁhitā indicates a complete meaningful unit in Sanskrit. It means a close approximation of varṇas (letter or a phonemic unit). "*Paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṁhitā*" (1. 4. 109), a sūtra in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, shares a similar view. In the present paper, we have attempted to focus on the features of semi-vowels and vowels when they come together. For this, we have taken help of a speech tool. In the beginning, we have collected samples from the namakādhyāya (16th Chapter) of the *Śuklayajurveda*. According to the number of semi-vowels, which are four in number, we have classified those words. Further, each semi-vowel is observed according to its position in a word. Afterwards, analysis of them is done with Oscillograph and note down their features. The present paper is in two main sections: - (I) [I. 1] Textual aspects of the term saṁhitā [II. 2] Relation of 'ik' (a keyword used by Pāṇini to indicate vowels i,u, ṛ and ḷ) and yaṇ (a keyword used for semi-vowels 'y, r, l, v'). (II) Observations which are obtained from this empirical study.

Keywords: Saṁhitā, Yaṇ, Pāṇini, Vowels, Semi-vowels

1. Introduction

In Sanskrit, we have nine vowels (V) and four semi-vowels (Se V). In some places, we can see an interchange between some of these Vs and Se Vs.

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With reference to the school of Sanskrit grammar, we can say that some of the Vs and SeVs have some common features regarding their position of articulation and efforts made for articulation. In the present context, we have tried to focus on some saṁhitā(combinations) of SeVs and Vs and have tried to see their features with the help of one of the speech tools.

1. Textual Discussion: Saṁhitā

In this section, two points are discussed. Both of these points are based on a textual study of different treatises in Sanskrit. Between these two, the first subsection, [I.1], includes the description of the concept of saṁhitā and its features with reference to some of the texts in Sanskrit. Other subsection, [I.2], includes a relation of vowels and semi-vowels in a word with some terms used in the school of Sanskrit grammar.

1.1 The saṁhitā is one of the most discussed terms in the Sanskrit language. It describes, proximity of varṇas. Though it is a general description given by all phonetic treatises and grammar texts, the term saṁhitā is discussed in various contexts since Vedic periods. The Vedic texts are called saṁhitā in a sense of collection of the mantras in a systematic manner. In *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, the word santāna is related to saṁhitā. But, the term used in this text is with reference to philosophy and not in philology.[1] A text named *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* (RP) says that a close proximity, less than a 1/2 mātrā (mora) virāma (pause), are seen among the vowels and consonants.[2] In the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* (RP), a word "nirbhuja" is used for the saṁhitāpāṭha (saṁhitā text). The meaning of the word nirbhuja is explained by the text as "*sandhervivartanaṁ nirbhujam vadanti*" (RP 1. 4). Here, sandhis are not dissolved. For example, in the word "agnim" "īḷe", two words are seen "agnim" and "īḷe". They are not uttered separately but, uttered continuously considering it as a one word unit. The text of *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* discussed this term in quite in detail.[3] By the further sūtra, *padāntāt padādibhiḥ sandadheti yat sākālāvyavāyena*, (RP 2. 2), saṁhita is defined as a technical term which says about a combination of words, sandhi. On the other hand, the text of *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* (TP) mentions four kinds of saṁhitās. They

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are padasaṁhitā (word), akṣarasaṁhitā (syllable), varṇasaṁhitā (letter) and aṅgasaṁhitā (member). The definition of the term padasaṁhitā says that it is a conjunction of individual words by rules of sandhi.[4] The sūtra appearing in the fifth chapter, *saṁhitāyām ekaprāṇabhāve* (TP 5. 1), gives a feature of which is to recite the whole text in one breath. Thus, it also indicates that there should not be a big pause between two letters or words while reciting. The Second Chapter of the text of *Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā* (SC) begins with a heading rule, saṁhitāyām (SC 2. 1). Whitney (1863), in the translation of *Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā*, remarks that all the other treatises in prātiśākhyas consider these types of rules (rules of sandhi), related to saṁhitā in a sense of continuous recitation of the Vedic texts.[5] In the treatise of the Śikṣā, we do find few references to this term with a reference to saṁhitā. We do find rules regarding sandhis. Since the main object of this treatise is of proper pronunciation of the letters, we do not find too many details about the term saṁhitā, in a sense of closeness of letters. Some of the texts like *Pārāśarīsīkṣā*, *Amoghanandinīsīkṣā* speak about vākya (sentence) and give examples of one of the Vedic ṛk mantra.

H. P. Dvivedi (1978) classified the terms used in the text of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) in three categories.[6] Among them, saṁhitā is included in arthasajñā (a one which is related to meaning) category. Pāṇini defines this term with the sūtra (for Pāṇini sūtra, abbreviation P is used) *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṁhiā* (P 1. 4. 109) (saṁhitā means the maximum proximity of speech letters). In their notes on this sūtra, Joshi and Roodbergen (1995) mentions that *Kāśikāvṛtti*, a commentary on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, interprets this word para as atiśaya (maximum). Further, they say that this is the only place in the whole of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where the word para is understood in a sense of "the maximum", elsewhere it is understood in a sense of "following".[7] With reference to Nyāsa, they say that it was necessary to define the term saṁhitā again. The meaning of this term was different before Pāṇinian meaning. It was not at all related to the proximity of letters. Therefore, Pāṇini defined the term.

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In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, this term works in two manners. Between these two, one function is to provide conditions for sandhi. The other function is that it works as adhikāra (heading rule).[8] According to the school of grammar, this term takes place within a word and within two words.[9] The text of *Siddhāntakaumudī* explains the above sūtra as saṁhitā is a close proximity of letters. A commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, named *Bālamanoramā* says the word sannikarṣa indicates a sāmīpya (nearness of the letters), without any hindrance or virāma (pause) not more that ½ a mātrā (mora). The text also allows ½ a mātrā[10] virāma between two letters. The same opinion is followed in the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* by Nāgeśa. The virāma (pause) is expected between two letters. If duration is more than ½ a mātrā, it cannot be considered as saṁhitā. Thus, we can say that the school of the grammar accepts saṁhitā between two letters. In saṁhitā, ½ a mātrāvirāma is allowed between two letters. With this discussion about saṁhitā, we come forward to our next discussion about a relation between vowels (V) and semi-vowels (SeV). Before coming to this point, we will see some of the features of these two.

I.2 Feature

The Vs and SeVs in Sanskrit share some common features as far as their bāhyaprayatna (external efforts) are concerned. All the Vs and SeVs are non-aspirated and voiced. As far as their ābhyantaraprayatna (internal efforts) is concerned, it is different in both categories. Vs are vivṛta (open) and SeVs are *īṣat-vivṛta* (slight open) in nature. Thus, we can see that 'i' changes into y or u changes tto v etc. Pāṇini introduces the term samprasāraṇa by the rule, *igyaṇ samprasāraṇam* (P 1. 1. 45). He says that ik is replaced by *yaṇ*.[11] Rule *sthāne antaratamaḥ* (P 1. 1. 50) explains a reason why this change is between these specific Vs and SeVs. The rule says that a suitable substitute should be used. The word antaratama, used in the sūtra means it should be the most similar to the one which has been substituted.

In the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*, (LSS) Nāgeśa mentions that similarity between two varṇas can be on the basis of sthāna (place of articulation),

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artha (meaning), guṇa (quality) and pramāṇa (quantity). Among these, substitution on the basis of similarity of sthāna is the most preferable[12]. Thus, we can have 'y, v, r' and l in place of 'i, u, r' and 'l' respectively on the basis of sthāna. The vṛtti of *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* gives a list of varṇas and their sthānas (place of articulation) in the explanation of the sūtra (P 1. 1. 9). Through this list, it becomes clear that these Vs and SeVs have similar sthāna. The substitution of these Vs to their respective SeVs is done on the basis of sthāna only. For example, i and y have similar sthāna, which is tālu (palatal). Hence, i is substituted to y or vice-versa. After this discussion, we come to our experiment based work section. The aim of the experiment, method used for the experiment, observations and conclusions are focused points in this section.

2. Methodology

In this section, we have included empirical work. The aim behind this study is to see the features of SeV + V structure in a word. In Sanskrit as well as in some of the languages in Indo-European language family, one can observe an alteration of Vs and their concerned SeVs. Thus, the focus of this study is on the features of these two and how an interchange becomes possible between these two. Forty-one words are selected for this study. All of these words are from the *Śuklayajurveda* text (SYV), 16th adhyāya (Chapter), which is namakādhyāya.

Method: The recorded text is fed to a speech tool. All these words are selected and classified according to the position of SeVs in each word. Further, each combination is analyzed according to their wave forms, difference in frequency, required period for articulation is noted down. The analysis includes method called Fundamental Frequency Tracking (FFT). Readings are noted down.

Material and Subject: All of these words are from a similar text. The audio is recited by a Vedic scholar who has studied in one of the traditional schools in Nasik, Maharashtra. He is a follower of the Mādhyandīna branch of the *Śuklayajurveda*. The words are selected on the basis of some criteria.

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We categorized these words according to number of vowels in each word. For instance, in a word yāḥ. Here, one vowel is seen. Thus, this word comes under the category of one vowel word.

Along with this main category, we have used subcategory which includes the position of the SeV appeared in each word. For instance in a word babhūva. In this word, v is at end position. In selection of words, we have thought of various combinations of varṇas and consonant clusters so that the effect of these varṇas can be observed. In some case, we have selected such words which have similar SeV in different position in a similar word. For example, yāmyāya, khalyāya, nīlalohita etc. When we do not get reference to particular positioned words in selected material, we have mentioned these places also. For example, in case of r, we do not find any reference to five vowel words with initial position of r, thus we mentioned it with words "not seen in selected data".

II. 1 The following description is about the analysis of these selected words with oscillograph of each SeV + V structure and noted down the details about their wave forms and period of utterance. Further the observations are mentioned. Each word will be taken for analysis and features of SeV + V structure will be observed. Each word has called as a case. Here, forty-one cases having this structure are described. Their images of oscillographs and spectrographs are also included in this discussion. Whenever a gap is observed, it is also noted down. For example, in avasarpati, there is a pause for 0.10msec. between a and v.

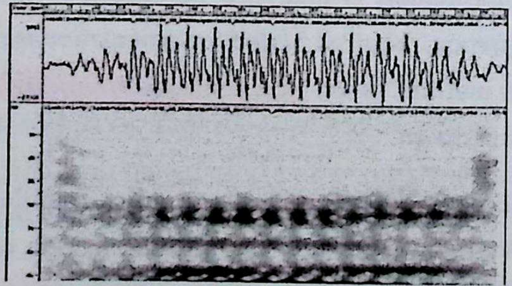

Fig. 1: avasarpati: gap between *a* and *v*

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This gap is much lesser than the quantity of mātrā. S. R. Savithri (1989) confirmed a quantity of mātras 42. 5 msec. On the basis of oscillograph and spectra, following observations are noted down.

II. 2 Now, we come to the observations which we have noted down in this experiment. Here, in the above selected words, we have 24 pairs of combinations of SeV and V. These combinations are as follows:

1. In case of y, we have: y + visarga, l + y + a, y + ā, y + i, y + u, y + e, y + o
2. In case of v: v + a, v + ā, v + i, v + é, v + e, v + o, v + r and ā.
3. In case of r: r + a, r + ā, r + i, r + u, r + e, r + o
4. In case of l: l + visarga, l + a, l + y a, l + o

If we come to the period of utterance of these combinations, we see that

1. In case of a combination y + ā, in a cluster it takes less period of utterance than its individual presence. For example, in words like lopyāya and yāmyāya, this takes 0.14 msec. and 0.15 msec. respectively. But, in the words like yā and tayā, it is heard for 0.34 msec. In case of the word mṛdayāti, where it is in 3rd position, it requires 032 msec. In case of y, it should be noted that in this branch of the Veda, ya is uttered as ja in specific conditions.
2. In a combination of l + y + a, we see that in one case (viśalyo) l is larger in utterance than the one in khalyāya. In words khalyāya and lopyāya, ya are heard as iya. In his book, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma mentions that it is observed that to fulfil the requirement of meter SeV in a group of consonants and SeV may be taken as a vowel or syllabic iya or uva.
3. Combination of y and a are seen in 11 places. Among them, there is only one word yathā where y is appearing at the first position and required 0.16 msec. In this branch of the Veda, y is uttered as j in specific conditions. In the *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā*, we find this reference. The text says that y should be uttered as j if it appears at the beginning of the word or in clusters or appeared after or is in the beginning of the verse. For the

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same reason, we hear jā or j instead of yā or y. All the other examples have y at the end of a word. If we see these examples, they are all with the combination of ā+ y + a. The range of period of utterance of y is between 8 msec. to 12 msec. In words khalyāya, lopyāya, āyudhāya, āśurathāya and nīlagīvāya, it required 8 to 10 msec. Here, dh as well as th is aspirated among these preceded varṇas to y. All the other three are non-aspirated. In the words like reṣmāya, rohitāya, śivatarāya, yāmyāya, and sahamānāya, it needed more than 11msec for utterance. All these preceded varṇas are non-aspirated.

4. It is observed that y in various positions in a word changes in its FFT and Frame Count. For example, in a word yāmyāya, we have same varṇa in different position. FFT of yā is 17 and it Frame Count (size) is 3228. The y, in cluster, has FFT 12 and its Frame Count is 2412. On the other hand, the end y has FFT 10 and its Frame Count is 2132. In words like śivatarāya and sahamānāya, its frequency is near 7 to 8. The other noticeable thing about y is that its period of utterance is less in clusters. For example, In the word lopyāya, it is uttered for 0.14 msec. In the tayā, it is uttered for 0.34 msec.

5. In structure of y + visarga, the combination bhyaḥ in harikeśebhyaḥ has more FFT than other two, bhyaḥ and nyaḥ. The reason may be appearing of ś, a fricative, in the word harikeśebhyaḥ before the cluster. In a word sumaṅgalaḥ, laḥ has highest frequency in this group.

6. Combination of v + a are seen in seven places. Among these, in two places it stands as an initial varṇa in the word. The period of utterance is 9 msec. and 16 msec. In the first case, the saṁhitā includes non-aspirated n + v. In the second case, vadāmasi, there is aspirated ch + v. In two places, it appears at the end of the word. Here, its period of utterance was 10 msec. and 20 msec. In the latter case, it has ṣ as its preceding varṇa.

7. In words śivā, havāmahe and śivena, the frequency is higher because it is followed by fricative ś.

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8. As far as wave form of v is concerned, it cannot be defined as periodic or a periodic. It begins with features of periodic wave form, but it does not remain like that.

9. In the words like pari and paribhuja, frequency does not change too much. But, Frame Count is changed. In the former word, it is 2041 and in the later word, it is 2104.

10. In case of rā, its frequency is changed in words aghorāand śivatarāya. This change is because of a change in position or duo to gho, which is aspirated, and 't', which is non-aspirated, is not clear.

11. No gap or pause is observed in SeV + V structure. There is one case of V + SeV structure, where a pause for 0.10 msec. is observed. In the word avasarpati, there is a pause between a and v for 0.10 msec. On the other hand, there are V + Consonant structures where pauses are observed. In a word adhivaktā, there is a pause for 0.12 msec. between a and k. Pause about 0.10 msec. is seen between a and grī in a word nīlagrīvo. In a word āyudhāya, there is a pause between u and dhā for 0.2 msec. In a word śivatarāya, a pause is seen between 'a' and 't' for 0.5 msec. In the word rudra, a pause is seen for 0.4 msec. In the words like vadāmasi, vacasā, yathā, yātudhānyaḥ and lopyāya we find such pauses. It can be noted that, in structure of V + t varga, these pauses are observed more in number. But, according to Savithri (1989), a quantity of half a mātrā is 42. 5msec. Thus, theses gaps which we have observed cannot be considered as virāma. We can say that there is no virāma in V + SeV or SeV + C structure.

12. Spectra of fricatives, vowels like ā, ī, e, o are darker in shade. Consonants like t, th, bh etc. are also darker than SeVs. (13) All the Vs and SeVs except 'v' have periodic wave forms.

14. FFT of SeVs is higher when they are combined with Vs like ā, ī, o and e.

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Conclusions

There is no virāma between SeVs + Vs or Vs + SeVs structure. But, there are minute gaps between V + SeV and V + Consonant structures. But, they are very minute. Thus, the structures like V + SeV, V + Consonant, Consonant + V and SeV + V are saṁhitā which do not have any gap between two letters.

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Notes

1. Though these texts are related to philosophy, we need to learn to recite these texts properly.
2. "padaprakṛtiḥ saṁhitā" (RP 1. 2)
3. For more details see Chaube (2003).
4. In his translation, W. D. Whitney (1871) used a word "text" for these saṁhitās.
5. Joshi and Roodbergen (1995) mention this point with reference to Nyāsa, a commentary on Kāśikāvṛtti. Nyāsa says that in case of the Prātiśākhya texts the term saṁhitā is used for a continuous recitation of words. It is not used in a sense of proximity of letters in a word.
6. These three categories are śabdasaṁjñā, arthasaṁjñā, and dharmasaṁjñā.
7. See Joshi and Roodbergan (1995: 256).
8. For more details, see Joshi and Roodbergan (1995:257).
9. *Saṁhitām aikapade nityādhatūpasargayoḥ. nityāsamāse vākye tu sāvivakṣatām apekṣate.* (Deo 2002:30).
10. The reason may be that it is a minimum duration which is required for an utterance of a letter, esp. consonants. It is also necessary for proper listening of a letter.

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18

Lalitavistara – A Biographical History of Buddha's life[1]

Sharmila Bagchi

The accounts of Gautama Buddha's life and work are found in Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit texts in India and also in the literatures of China, Tibet, Japan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia etc. The archaeological relics including plastic and pictorial art, inscriptions, coins, seals and sealing, furnish valuable material regarding the symbolic and iconic forms of the Bodhisattvas, the Buddha's (including the past ones) and their activities. The symbolic representation of Gautama Buddha and those of previous Buddhas were primarily the sacred trees. In the Bharhut art, the different trees representing four pūrva (past) Buddhas are Pāṭali, Śāla, Udūmbara and Nyagrodha respectively. The label- inscription on the Bharhut panels, call these as Bodhi trees. The literary and epigraphical references help us in determining the names of previous Buddhas who were designated as Vipasvī, Viśvabhū, Kakutsandha, Kaśyapa, Sikhi and Kanakamuni. The last name is mentioned in Nigliva edict of Asoka as Konagamuni.[3] In the early Indian art of the pre-Christian era, Gautama Buddha was represented by the symbols of Bodhi-tree, cakra, stupa, chatra and pada. These symbols gradually became well-known almost throughout the country. No image of Buddha is found in primitive Buddhism (even in relifs) of Bharhut, Sanchi etc, he is represented by a symbol of wheel- cakra), but in Gāndhāra art – Greco-Indian style of sculpture (a development of second century A.D. when Mahāyāna texts focused on Buddha legend), the representation of Buddha in art became principal object and thus made him the centre point in his religion for adoration and bhakti.

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Gautama or Gotama Buddha[4], known as Siddhārtha (Siddhattha) before the attainment of Buddha-hood, is the founder of Buddhism. No continuous biography has come to us of the Buddha from ancient time, i.e. from Pali canon. The Pali texts gave preference to the discourses of Buddha (with place and time) rather than the life history of Buddha. They contain unconnected fragments of the history of Buddha's life. Buddha spent nearly 40 years wandering and preaching dharma but no exact chronology is found. Very few events of early life of the Buddha, prior to the attainment of Buddha-hood are found recorded. Due to non-availability of history, with the development of Buddha-concept and on the basis of different interpretations of existing materials in later centuries, the history of Buddha had come to us with wonders piled on wonders. Attempts to write biographies in Sanskrit and Pali, which surround the events of the Buddha's life with boundless imagination and miraculous legends are quite different from older times. Even interpolations are done in old texts to make the later look authentic.

The Biographies on Buddha's Life

Among the available five biographies of Buddha, the Lalitavistara is considered an important work as it gives a detailed history of Gautama Buddha's life from birth to Dharmacakrapravartana – setting in motion the wheel of law, or the first sermon. The other four are 1. *Mahāvastu* of Mahāsāṅghika (Lokottaravādin's) in mixed Sanskrit (Gāthā) 2. *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, in pure Sanskrit (Mahākāvya) 3. *Nidānakathā* in pure Pali, forming the introductory part of the *Jātakakathā* 4. *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* of Dharmagupta, probably written in mixed Sanskrit but now available only in a Chinese translation, which has been rendered into English by Beal as *the Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*. Besides these, there are stray pieces in Pali and Sanskrit *Vinaya*, as also in *Nikāyas*- depicting certain periods oı events in Buddha's life like *Mahāpadanasutta, Āriyapariyesanasutta, Mahāparinibbānasutta, Suttanipāta, Avadāna, Mahāvaṁśa.*

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Of the five biographies of Buddha, *Lalitavistara* is the most systematic. Its sonorous Gāthās are replete with bold imaginary and its descriptive accounts in prose and poetry, though unreliable, are calculated to produce faith and devotion for the great being. The *Lalitavistara* is regarded as most sacred text of Mahāyāna school as a *Vaipulyasūtra*. It is a text book of voluminous contents and given the usual designation of a *Mahāyāna-sūtra* and yet originally the work embodied a descriptive life of Buddha for the Sarvāstivādī school of Hīnayāna. It is included in the nine dharmas of Nepalese Buddhism and styled as *Vaipulya-sūtra* – discourse of great extent. The other eight Dharmas are- 1. *Aṣṭasāhasrīkā Prajñapāramitā* 2. *Gaṇḍavyūha* 3. *Daśabhūmikā* or *Daśabhūmisvarasūtra* 4. *Samādhirāja*, also known as *Candrapradīpasūtra* 5. *Laṅkavatārasūtra* 6. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkākṣa* 7. *Tathāgataguhyaka* 8. *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*.

The *Lalitavistara* is also known as *Mahānidānasūtra* and *Purāṇa*. It is probably a work of first or second century AD when generally the *Mahāyāna-sūtras* were composed or compiled. Its author is unknown though somewhere it is mentioned as a work of Dharmarakṣa (308A.D.). It is divided into 27 unequal chapters called parivarta. The language of the work is mixed Sanskrit known as Gāthā. It is a key to the development of the Buddha legend in its earliest beginnings, in which only the spiritual events of the life of the great founder of the religion has been adorned with miracles, down to the final apotheosis of the master in which his career appears more like that of the god above all the other the gods from beginning to end. But, from the standpoint of literary history, *Lalitavistara* is one of the most important works in Buddhist literature. It is indeed not a Buddha-epic proper, but it embodies all the germs of one which may have helped the poet Aśvaghoṣa some way or the other to create his magnificent epic '*Buddhacarita*' or the life of Buddha.

The life of Buddha is divisible into two parts. The first one referring to his birth, infancy, boyhood and manhood to the time of attaining religious perfection; and the second embracing his career as the teacher of a new

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faith and the history of his death and funeral. The *Lalitavistara* comprises of the first part, as far as it goes, it is the most complete account we have on the subject. There is no other work in Sanskrit language which gives the second part of his life in the same way. The sūtras and the Avadānas are our only guides, but they are fragmentary, uncounted, often unreliable and discordant. The life in Pali, compiled by Buddhaghoṣa, has a great advantage in this respect as it includes the career of the great teacher from his birth to death; but, its authenticity is questionable, and it has compiled nearly a thousand years after the date of events it describes. Rhys Davids calls it "gospel history"[5] which is an evidence of Nepalese beliefs at the time when it was composed, after it lost sight and forgotten. Oldenberg[6] also finds the history of Buddha's life a legendry myth. He refutes the French scholar Emile Senart's view, based "wholly on the legendry biography, the *Lalitavistara* that a real Buddha lived on this earth" (as he thinks that only Pali texts can give us correct information and Pali texts also have no authentic, systematic information always on Buddha's life).

The biographical accounts of Buddha's life come from the primary sources available in Pali and Sanskrit[7]. The Pali –texts, mostly belonging to theravāda school, are divided into three parts viz. *Sutta* which comprised the doctrine or discourses, *Vinaya* – the disciplinary rules for monks and *Abhidhamma* – scholastic elaborations of the Dharma. The available early literature of Pali canon, does not present the complete biography of Buddha in a continuous form but in fragments of an enlightened one (Buddha) as a superman. Earliest Sanskrit tradition is found in Tibetan scriptures chiefly in the *Vinaya* or three main texts namely *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu* and *Buddhacarita*. Now, *Mahāvastu-avadāna* or *Mahāvastu* belongs to *Vinayapiṭaka* of Buddhist canonical literature, prepared according to the text of Lokottaravādins of Mahāsāṅghikas of Madhyadeśa (Northern-central India), who were the earliest schismatic, formed at the time of the Second council of Vaiśālī[8] in the fourth century B.C. Before progressing further, let us have a general outlook of the division of Buddhist schools as it will help us to understand the basic philosophy behind their division-

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Buddhism

- Hīnayāna (Southern) (Sravakāyana or Pratyekabuddhayāna)
  - Vaibhāṣika (Depend of Vibhāsā *i.e.* commentary I or Sarvāstivāda-school (orthodox school)
  - Sautrānika (depend of Sūtra – original text)
- Mahāyāna(Northern) (Bodhisattvayāna)
  - Mādhyamika Madhyama Pratipada (The middle course)
  - Yogācāra Vijñānavāda or Holding Vijñānamātra as Ultimate Reality

The Ceylonese tradition maintains Theravāda as Mahāsaṅghika and original Buddhist school. Chinese tradition also maintains Sarvāstivāda and *Mahasanghika* as two original schools of Buddhism. Itsing says[9] of four original schools-

1. Āryamūlasarvāstivāda
2. Āryamahāsāṅghika
3. Āryasammitīya
4. Āryasthavīra

There is no room for doubt that Śarvāstivāda was the most primitive school of Buddhism. All the documents record that a schism arose about a century after Buddha's mahāparinirvāṇa, because of the efforts of some monks for the relaxation of the stringent rules current at that time which the orthodox monks were not ready to allow. The monks, who deviated from the orthodox school were later on called the Mahāsaṅghikas, while the Sthaviravadins (Pali–Theravādins) i.e. the conservative and liberal,

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the hierarchic and democratic. Theravada being the most conservative school, preserved its doctrines in Pali. Sarvāstivāda school, it seems, was branched off from Theravada. It appears that the Sarvastivadins as well as Mulasarvastivadins employed Sanskrit as their literary medium and possessed their canon in Sanskrit[10]. It should be remembered here that the geographical distribution of the schools also throw much light on their development. The Sarvāstivāda (Sarva = all + asti = exist + vāda = doctrine) was chiefly confined to Northern India (Kashmir to Mathura), their main seat being Kashmir, the Theravādins to Magadha and Kośala – the premier sphere of Buddhism. At the time of Asoka, the Theravāda school was in vogue, though Mahasanghikas were also wielding their influence in India at that time. The Pali tradition speaks of his adherence to the Theravāda school, while the Sanskrit tradition of his support to Sarvastivada. Hence, all the schools obviously have the biographies of Buddha, dealt according to the beliefs of their sect. so *Mahāvastu* belongs to the Lokottaravādins (Mahāsaṅghikas), *Lalitavistara* to Sarvāstivādins.

Mahāvastu[11] (MVu) was first published in three volumes by a French savant E. Senart in French language. It is written in a dialect which appears to be a conglomerate language, consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit forms. This language is generally called by scholars as *Gāthā* dialect or mixed Sanskrit or unfortunately, some times as 'hybrid Sanskrit'. The time of composition or compilation of this partly prose and partly metrical treatise is according to Late Hara Prasad Sastri, the third-second century B.C. but, Winternitz was of the opinion that the nucleus of the work probably originated as far as the second century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the fourth century A.D. or still later[12]. The chief contents of the work relate to the biography of Buddha, adorned profusely with stories and miracles accompanying his extraordinary conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, preaching and teaching gods and men, conversion of great and small persons to his faith and his demise. It also contains some old and new *Jātaka*-stories (i.e. the stories of previous births of the Buddha).

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Buddhacarita[13](BC) by Aśvaghoṣa, as mentioned earlier, is an epic (*Mahākavya*) of 14 sargas in Sanskrit though Johnston has presented the translation of Canto xv-xxviii from Tibetan and Chinese versions! The sargas 1-14 (in Sanskrit) narrates Buddha's story from birth to enlightenment. The *sargas* 15-28 (based on Tibetan and Chinese version), narrate the story from '*Dharmacakrapravartana*' – turning the wheel of the law till the Division of the Relics. At the end of the book, it is given as "the work of the venerable mendicant and teacher Aśvaghoṣa, of Saketa, the son of Suvarṇākṣi, the great poet, eloquent and of universal renown." (p.124). Aśvaghoṣa has presented *Buddhacarita* as an actual epic with intense love and reverence for the Exalted Buddha in noble and artistic manner but not in artificial language.

Nidānakathā[14] (Nidāna) is another authority on Buddha's biography, taken in Pali. It forms the introduction part of the *Jātaka* "*Nidānakathā*". It has three divisions namely 1. *Dure-nidāna*, consisting the story of Sumedha (Buddha) and others and discussion on ten perfections 2. *Avidure-nidāna*, narrating the Bodhisattva's departure from Tusita up to the enlightenment 3. *Santke-nidana* has the narratives of his visit to Savatthi (Srāvasti) where Jetavana is built by Anāthapindika and dedicated to Buddha. It mostly narrates the events wrapped up in miraculous and mythical legends. It belongs to the period when Hīnayāna was in decline and Mahāyana was in developing stage, may be written after 5th century.

Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra[15] (Abhins) is another biography of Buddha which is extant only in Chinese version. Probably written in mixed Sanskrit (*Gāthā*), which was rendered by Mr. Beal in English as *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha* in 1875, written by Dharmagupta. It gives the story of Buddha from birth down to the early period of his preaching and presents the legend as found in *Mahāvastu*. Other than these, there are many Pali texts which present the glimpses of Buddha's life.

Translations of Lalitavistara

The work known as *Lalitavistara* – written in mixed Sanskrit, was known to the world through a Tibetan translation. Some Chinese translations are also

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available but none of these translation, disclose the name of the original texts. French and English scholars translated the Tibetan or the Chinese versions in their respective languages. The first Sanskrit manuscript of the work was found by Rajendra Lal Mitra in the collection brought by Brian Houghton, an English man who entered Bengal Civil Service as a writer in April 30, 1818[16]. An able administrator, a historiographer and a man of letters, he stayed in Nepal for more than 21 years (1819-1848) and did his research into the form of religion which prevailed in Nepal . The Buddhism of *Śākya Simha* as it manifested itself in that Alpine region on its expulsion from Hindustan (India). The other well-known translations of the work are:

1. M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire's work entitled "*Le Buddha et Sa Religion*", based on a French translation, through the Tibetan of a Sanskrit work called the *Lalitavistara*.

2. *Rgya Cher Rol Pa*, a Tibetan work has been published with a complete French Translation by M. Foucaux (*Fuco*) – the most competent scholar in Europe for the task (in the '*Annals du Mussi Guimet*', Vol.xix, Paris, 1887-1892). Foucaux assigns a date to the Tibetan version which can not be earlier, but, may be much later than the sixth century of our era (AD) or a thousand years after the birth of Gautama Buddha.

3. *Lalitavistara*, edited by S. Lefmanh (German) who also brought out a German translation of the first chapter in Berlin in 1875.

4. It may be taken for certain that a version little different from *Lalitavistara* was known to the artists who about 750-850 AD, decorated with images of the celebrated temple of Borobudur or Barabudur in Java, for these magnificent sculptures, some represent the scenes in the legend of Buddha in a manner "as if the artists were working with the text of the *Lalitavistara* in their hands."[17] The reliefs at stūpa, represent texts that were intended to impress lessons of wisdom on the believer's mind as he ascends the stūpa, and so to prepare him for the attainment of the Highest Insight that the Mahāyāna brings before his eyes. During the restoration work of the stūpa in

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1907-1911, the Dutch Govt. published a detailed description of Borobudur, an English translation of which is in preparation. The chapter containing the *Lalitavistara* reliefs is brought out separately in a book- form[18] where in 120 photographs, most of the events of *Lalitavistara* are immortalized. Dr. Krome is right when he says that "I have carefully tried to make it possible for the reader to form his own opinion as to the correctness of the identifications. As it would be of little use to fill up this description with quotation from Sanskrit, I think the best way to make it clear will be to translate, as literally as possible, those portions of the text that are depicted on the reliefs, giving besides this portion of the text....".[19]

5. Emile Senart bases his criticism in '*Essai sur la ligende du Buddha*' (in French) wholly on the legendry biography, the *Lalitavistara*, current among the Northern Buddhists in Tibet, China, Nepal.

6. **The Chinese translations** – P. L. Vaidya gives a brief history of Chinese translations in the Introduction of his edition of *Lalitavistara*[20] –

1. It is said that *Lalitavistara* was translated into Chinese as early as in the first century A.D. Nanjio's catalogue records two *viz.* nos. 159 and 160. Nanjio regarded *Fo-pen-hing-king* as the earliest translation of the work, but it is no longer extant.

2. As regards the second translation into Chinese of this text, called *Pou-yao-king*, the biography of Buddha, translated by Dharmarakṣa (on Internet, we can see the entry of *Lalitavistara* authored by Dharmarakṣa in same year) in 308 A.D. and containing only 8 chapters, scholars have their doubts about its being the translation of the Text.

3. There is a third Chinese translation of the work called *Fang-kwang-ta-chwang-yan-king* by Shaman Nramasa, Devakara of Tan dynasty (circa 620-904 A.D.). Not all, but, Beal finds this translation closely agree with the contents of the chapters, thus raising doubts about its being at all the translation of *Lalitavistara*.

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The Editions of Lalitavistara

So far the two editions of original *Lalitavistara* were available – one by Rajendra Lal Mitra in *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1877 and another by S. Lefmann, Halle (in two parts, published in 1902 and 1908). In 1957, P. L. Vaidya brought out a new third edition, based on R. L. Mitra and Lefmann's edition. He founded his work mostly on Lefmann's edition as he thinks that Mitra had made many emendations according to Paninian grammar which distorted the original text (made it less authentic)

The Contents of Lalitavistara

The *Lalitavistara* has strange characteristic of having a form of *Mahāyānasūtra* text, but, belongs to Sarvastivāda-school (a branch of Hīnayāna-school). The work is divided into 27 Chapters called 'Parivarta. Each Parivarta has a name. The first one is *Nidāna* where Buddha himself narrates the contents of this work, *Samutsaha [na?] Kulaśuddhi (Pariśuddhi), Dharmalokamukha, Pracalaparivarta, Garbhāvakrānti, Janma, Devakulopanayana, Ābharaṇa, Lipisalasandarśana, Kṛsigrāma, Śilpasandarśana, Sañcodana, Svapna, Abhiniṣkramaṇa, Bimbisāropakramaṇa, Duṣkarācārya, Nairañjana, Bodhimaṇḍagamana, Bodhigaṇḍavyuha, Maradharṣaṇa, Abhisambodhana, Samstava, Trapusabhallika, Adhyesana, Dharmacakrapravartana and Nigama*, the last one. The size of all parivartas differs from each other. All the chapters have gadya (prose) and padya- śloka (verse) part. The twenty-first parivarta – *Maradharṣaṇa* is the longest one with 202 ślokas which depicts famous encounter of Buddha with Mara (Kāma) and temptation by his daughters.

As we all know that *Lalitavistara* does not tell the full life-history of Buddha, but, the events narrated in it, are accepted more or less as real land- marks of Buddha's life since long. It contains number of mythical and miraculous description of events also which are not found in older texts. Here, Buddha is described on several levels like he is immutable and universal, omnipresent, already enlightened, more than man and greater than gods, a human being born in time and place with a thirst of discovering a knowledge to communicate to others solely for the purpose

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of instructing human beings. It starts with the background of the story of the Buddha's decision of taking birth on this earth (1st to 5th Parivarta) till his first sermon to the group of five monks (26th) and 27th being conclusion – Nigama where like a popular religious book, the publicity of the work has been done. Among the 27 chapters of the work, 6th and 7th – Garbhakrānta and Janma, respectively deal with the legendary conception and birth of Buddha. The 14th chapter '*Svapnaparivarta*' is important one as here the incident of Buddha sighting old-age, disease, death and of a recluse, is found which inspired him for renunciation. The next chapter '*Abhiniṣkramaṇa*' describes the process of his journey to renunciation. The 18th chapter '*Nairañjana*' has the famous incident of payas (milk) offered to penance-striven Buddha by Sujata. The 22nd chapter '*Abhisambodhana*' is most important as it speaks of his enlightenment and realisation of the highest-truth.

The language of Lalitavistara

The Buddhist Sanskrit texts usually contain both prose and verse (Gāthā). Sometimes the prose portion either serves as an Introduction to the verse portion or reiterates the contents of the verse. The *Lalitavistara* is also a compound of two different styles – a prose version of pure Sanskrit which substantiates its statements by quotations from a metrical and simpler version in the *Gāthā* dialect- a mix of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Let us have a cursory knowledge of *Gāthā* in the words of Rajendra lal Mitra[22] - "In the collection of words and phrases, the *Gāthā* strictly follows the rules of Sanskrit syntax, but, in the formation of compound terms, it admits of many licenses, highly offensive to the cannon of Pāṇini and his commentators. They seem however to be the consequence of haste, inattention and colloquialism, and are not referable to any dialectic peculiarity. The same may be said of the errors of prosody which, not withstanding the anxiety of the Gāthā versifiers to avoid false metre, even at the expense of etymology, prevail to a great extent in their compositions." Though, many scholars have difference of opinions in calling it *Gāthā* . They prefer to call it 'mixed Sanskrit' or 'Buddhist Sanskrit'[23].

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22 *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Ne*pal by R. L. Mitra, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 38 Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta-6, Reprint 1971 (first edition – 1882), p. 36. **23** For further details, see Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (1953); *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol.II, ed. Dr. N. Dutt, Intro; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp.226 ff; R. L. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Intro. –In FN of *Sarvastivada Literature* by Anukula Chandra Banerjee, p.15. **24** R. L. Mitra, op cit, p.46.

The origin of *Gāthā* is not known for certain. There is nothing in the books characterised by the difference of language, which throw smallest light on its origin. Some assume that it was developed as an intermediate between the regular Sanskrit and Pali – a dialect entirely derived from and manifested posterior to, the Sanskrit. An obvious reason seems to be that it is a crude composition of writers (scribes) to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar and who endeavoured to write in the learned language, which they misunderstood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly – determined dialect. Mitra thinks that Sanskrit passed into *Gāthā* six hundred years before Christian Era; that three hundred years subsequently it changed into Pali; and that in two hundred years more, proceeded the Prakrit and its sister dialects - the Surasenī, Drāvidī (not Telugu or its cognate languages. It is called the language of Drāvidīs – द्राविडी द्राविडादिषु (साहित्यदर्पणम्) and Pāñcālī which in their turn formed the present vernacular dialects of India[24].

Although the language of *Lalitavistara* does not follow the Pāṇinian grammar rules religiously[25], the poetry of *Gāthā* has much artistic elegance which at once indicates that it is not the composition of men who were ignorant of the first principles of grammar. Its author or authors display a great deal of learning and discuss the subtle questions of logic and metaphysics with much tact and ability. They paid more attention to meaning than to correct form. It regards as well as disregards the elementary cannons of grammar, metre and even vocabulary. A sweet melody seems to be its chief aim, and

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for this, it is ready to sacrifice every other essential condition of a language (the characteristics found in Gilgit Manuscripts also[26])

ब्राह्मणीं क्षत्रियां कन्यां वेश्यां शूद्रीं तथैव च।
यस्यां एते गुणाः सन्ति तां मे कन्यां प्रवेदय।।३।।
न कुलेन न गोत्रेण कुमारो मम विस्मितः।
गुणे सत्ये च धर्मे च तत्रास्य रमते मनः।।४।।
शुद्धोदनस्य तनयः परमाभिरूपो
द्वाविंशलक्षणधरो गुणतेजयुक्तः।
तेनेति गाथा लिखिता गुणये वधूनां
यस्या गुणास्ति हि इमे स हि तस्य पत्नी।।५।।
स तस्यास्तं लेखमुपनामयति स्म।।

अथ सा दारिका तं गाथालेखं वाचयित्वा स्मितमुपदर्श्य तं पुरोहितं गाथायामव्यभाषत-
मह्योति ब्राह्मण गुणा अनुरूप सर्वे
सो मे पतिर्भवतु सौम्य सुरूपरूपः।
भणहि कुमारु यदि कार्य म हू विलम्ब
मा हीनप्राकृतजनेन भवेय वासः।।६।।[27]

The verses are recapitulations of prose narration in an abbreviated and simpler and some times also more or less divergent form. Rarely these verses form a 12 portion of the narrative. Many of these metrical pieces are beautiful old ballads which go back to the same ancient sources as the poem of the Pali *Suttanipāta* i.e. Ch. 7 – Asita episode, Ch. 16 – Bimbisara history, Ch. 18 – dialogue with Mara. They belong to the ancient religious poesy of the first century after Buddha. But several prose passages also like the sermon at Benares in the 26th Ch. are assignable to the most ancient stratum of Buddhist tradition. The verses in Gāthā, points to be the younger component in the compilation, are often composed in the Sanskrit meters like Vasantatilaka and Śārdūlavikrīḍita (see the index to metres in Lefmann's edition VII, p.227 f, and *Intro.*p.19 ff)[28].

The style of the Text is like story telling that is repeating sentences with added adjectives to make the statement more emphatic. For example, in

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3rd Ch.- *Kulapariśuddhi*, the family in which Buddha is going to be born is described like –

चतुष्षष्ठायाकारैमार्षाः सम्पन्नकुलं भवति यत्र चरमभाविको बो।धसत्वः प्रत्यजायते। कतमैश्चतुष्षष्ठ्याकारैः तद्यथा। अभिज्ञातं च तत्कुलं भवति। अक्षुद्रानुपघाति च तत्कुलं भवति। जातिसम्पन्नं च तत्कुलं भवति। गोत्रसम्पन्नं च तत्कुलं भवति। पूर्वपुरुषसम्पन्नं च तत्कुलं भवति। महेशाख्यपुरुषयुगसम्पन्नं च तत्कुलं भवति।

Thus 9 times goes on. The prose and the verse part of describing Maya (mother of Buddha) and her personality can be seen in 3rd Ch. *Kulapariśuddhi* (p.19) –

राज्ञश्च शुद्धोधनस्य मायानाम देवी सुप्रबुद्धस्य शाक्याधितेर्दुहिता नवतरुणी रूपयौवनसम्पन्ना अप्रसूता अपगतपुत्रदुहित्रका सुरुपा सलख्यविचित्रेव दर्शनीया देवकन्येव सर्वालङ्कारभूषिता अपगतमातृग्रामदोषा सत्यवादिन्यकर्कशा —

शुद्धोदनस्य प्रमदा प्रधाना
नारीसहस्रेषु हि साग्रप्राप्ता।
मनोरमा मायकृतेव बिम्बं
नामेन सा उच्यति मायादेवी
सुरूपरूपा यथा देवकन्या
सुविभक्तगात्रा शुभनिर्मलाङ्गो
न सोऽस्ति देवो न च मानुषो वा
यो माया दृष्टवाथ लभेत तृप्तिम्।।८।।

The description of Maya in prose part goes on in 20 lines and in verse part goes from 6 to 19 Nos.

Lalitavistara as a biographical history

Though, *Lalitavistara* is often said to be possessing literary value only, not the historical one, but it is mostly consulted for every fact while giving the details of Buddha's life history[29]. As its title suggests in English – Exhaustive sports *(Lalitavistara)* of Buddha, every event or episode is exhaustive in description. Then why am I calling it Biographical history of Buddha? History only provides facts, only the actual events, without any

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extra or exaggerated description of any event! Whereas in *Lalitavistara*, the exaggerated description of every event has out shadowed its reliability! It seems that by the time *Lalitavistara* was composed or compiled, many legends were grown around the life-history of Buddha. The one and only strong point of *Lalitavistara is* that it has not left out any single minute detail of Buddha's life and everything is recorded here in chronological order (till His first sermon- Dharmacakrapravartana*)*. Sometimes some details are unimportant and uncalled for, but, still they are a part of the continuity. We can summarise them as following –

1. It starts with 'Thus have I heard' like *Pali-suttas* and is written in narrative style. *Lalitavistara* (LV) mentions the names of 34 Bhikṣukas at one place in Nidānaparva (1.p.1), who represented 20 thousand Pramukha-bhiksukas (main monks) at Tusita. Similarly,the names of 8 Bodhisattvas representing 32 thousand Bodhisattvas.

2. Bodhisattva is named Svetaketu (2.p.8). *Nidānakathā (Nidāna) n*ames him Sumedha (p.20), *Abhiniṣkṛamaṇa (Abhin*, Beal's *Romantic legend...*,p.24) – Prabhapala.

3. Bodhisattva was inspired by thousands of gods to take birth on earth to liberate all the human beings (2, p.9). *Mahāvastu* (MVu) states that out of compassion towards all beings, he decided to be born, without any inspiration from others (1.p.366).

4. 64 qualities of the family where Bodhisattva will take birth and 32 qualities of the mother are given in *Kulapariśuddhiparivarta* (3,p.16,17). LV goes further that Suddhodana and Māya were his parents for the last five hundred years (3,p.20)

5. Only LV mentions that before leaving Tusita, he appointed Bodhisattva Maitreya to glorify Tusita by placing the diadem/Tiara *(*Pattamaulam*)* from his head to Maitreya's head (5.p.28). A relief depicting the scene is found in the stūpa of Barabudur[31].

6. Māya – the mother of Buddha dreamt of an elephant with six tusks, covered with golden netting entering in her womb[32].All the sources mention

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that Māya 14 dreamt of an elephant entering in her womb, only the form of elephant differ in description[33].

7. Dates of conception differ in all sources. LV (6.p.43) says it was *Vaiśākha* (April-May) -, MVu (2.p.8) says full moon night of Puṣa/Pauṣa (Dec-Jan), *Abhinis (*Beal,p.35) says opening month of Spring.

8. LV exaggerates that 10 thousand worlds trembled, shook, quacked as he entered in the womb of his mother (LV,5,p.39). It is agreed by all *(Majjhimanikāya* (MN), 123,p.185; MVu, 2.p.10; *Nidāna*, p.65) that at the conception-time of Buddha, whole world was trembling. BC is more human then other sources as there is no dream of conception, hence nothing happens at the time of conception.

9. After the ten months of conception, Bodhisattva was born in Lumbini (LV, 7.p.*58; Nidāna*,p.66; MVu, 1.p.148). Maya delivered the child holding the branch of the tree Plakṣa (LV, 7.p.58; MVu,p.149) or Śāla *(Nidāna*, p.67). A relief depicting the scene beautifully is represented in Barabudur stūpa (plate 28, p. 30).

10. Immediately after his birth, Bodhisattva took 7 steps (LV, 7.p.62). So says all the biographical sources (MN,123,p.188; MVu, 2.p.24*; Nidāna*,p.68) and agree that Maya died after 7 days of the child-birth though difference of opinion for the reason exist. LV(7.p.70) thinks that she found better refuge in death rather in the grief of separation at the time of Bodhisattva's renunciation. MVu (2,p.3) gives a ethical reason that after producing Buddha, she should not indulge in love. *Nidāna* (p.66) also supports it saying that her womb should not bear another child. Abhis (Beal,p.63) records that she died out of joy for producing such a great child.

11. He was named Sarvārthasiddha by the king himself (LV,7.p.69; MVu, 2, P.26).

12. The old ladies of the palace *(vṛddhavṛddhaḥ śākyaḥ)* chosen Mahāprajāpati Gautamī, the sister of Māya to look after Bodhisattva (7,p.72).

13. Sage Asita comes to see the child and predicts his future (7.p.73-76).

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14. Bodhisattva's visit to the temple is mentioned by all sources but Pali. Only, the time of the event differs. LV (8.p.83-84) show him a grown up child, MVu (2.p.26) and *Abhin* (p.52) show him as an infant (while returning from Lumbini to Kapilavastu).[33]

15. Events of Bodhisattva's childhood, education and marriage are described in LV in an organised way. Pali texts are silent about his early life and marriage. They do not refer any practical studies and education received by Buddha. MVu even (2.p.73) says that the king did not send him to school out of affection. But, LV elaborately narrates this event (10 - *Lipisalasandarsanaparivarta,* pp.87-89). Bodhisattva's knowledge of 64 scripts (even the names also, p.88) amazes his teacher Viśvāmitra. BC also mentions of his outstanding capacity of learning things in a short time (2.S.24).

One incident is commonly recorded in all sources – meditation under cool shadow of tree and the shadow not leaving Bodhisattva. The occurrence of the incident is described at different times in the works. LV as a rule, going by the time, narrates this event after the school episode. This means, Bodhisattva was in his teens/youth when he went to visit his father's farms with his friends (11. *Kṛṣigrāmaparivarta,* pp.90-95). According to *Nidāna* (pp.73-74) and Pali texts (Mn, 36.p.305), he was an infant and went there with his father and servants. BC (5.3-21) shows him going there with his friends, riding his horse and was disturbed by the plight of ploughmen and the death of insects. LV, BC, MVu name the tree as Jambu.

LV and MVu (2, pp.48,72-73) give a long description of selecting a bride for Bodhisattva. In LV, Bodhisattva gives a list of qualities of the bride (12, pp.96-98, S.1-12). The name of the bride also differs in the sources. According to MVu, it is Yasodhara – daughter of Mahanama(2,p.48), LV calls her Gopa (12, p.100) – daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi, *Nidāna* and Pali-texts call her Rahulamata only, Abhis (p.97-98) gives her the name – Gautamī, a very common name among śākya-women. Any reference to his married life is not found in any of the biographical text (including LV) so far, only that

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he was a happily married man and was leading a luxurious life (13,pp.112-113).

16. For renunciation, gods implore *(sañcodana)* him to leave the worldly life and pleasures (13, pp. 113-130). The reason for his renunciation is not clear in any of the old canon. But, it is for certain that Buddha left home in search of a solution to the problems of life i.e. death and decay. Sighting of the four bitter truths of life narrated in LV (14, *Svapnaparivarta*, pp. 135-139) has been agreed upon in *Nidāna* (pp. 75-76), BC (3.26-59), MVu (2, p.140) as the four reasons for his renunciation. These four reasons have taken such a fabulous legendary shape that they have become an integrated part of Buddha's life. Some of the Pali texts don't even mention the event of sighting the four scenes. *Digghanikāya* mentions that the event occurred in the pleasure garden and his age was 29 years at the time of renunciation[34]. Suddhodana appoints guards at the palace gate and sounds alert in the kingdom so that Bodhisattva could not leave the house (15, pp.145-148). Still, Bodhisattva was able to leave his wife, son Rahula and house behind, riding his horse Kanthaka and accompanied by Pali, LV,15, pp.151-163). Different gods offered their help for his exit (p.147). Chandaka and Kanthaka try to resist him in vain. The departure of Buddha is not described elaborately in Pali texts.

After Bodhisattva's departure, Gopa and other women cried bitterly in Kapilavastu (pp.169-170). BC gives a very beautiful and touching description of the event (8.8-11). *Nidāna* says (p.84) that Kanthaka died out of grief at the very spot where Buddha left him with Chandaka. MVu narrates (2,p.190) that he died because he stopped taking food after Buddha's departure. Pali texts have no mention of such details of legend of departure neither do they mention Rahula as his son as all disciples were his son and so was Rahula[35].

17. For the accounts of the period of meditation and enlightenment, all the texts have borrowed from popular legends especially from LV and MVu as they are biographical accounts. LV has systematically narrated the sequences – Meeting the religious teachers Arada (in Pali texts he is Alara) Kalapa (16, *Bimbisaroasankramanaparivarta*,p.174) and Rudraka Ramaputra (in *Pali*

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texts he is Uddaka Ramaputta)[36]; Meeting king Bimbisara while staying at Pandava hill where the king offered him half of his kingdom (Ibid); early five disciples (17,pp.181) who were earlier the disciples of Ramaputra. Others mention that they followed him on the way (BC, 12, 91-93).

18. It is a fact that before finding his own path, Bodhisattva followed all religious practices of contemporary asceticism. His severe penance is described with minute details in LV (17, *Duṣkaracaryāparivarta*, p.184-190) and MN, 36,p.303; *Nidāna*,p.86,303; MVu,p.128. This severe penance included self-mortification through tormenting the body like *Tirthikas* in different ways37. His penance started with restrain on respiration, uttermost end of *Dhyāna – Asfanakadhyana* and at the end decline in food intakes. Oldenberg passes the whole description as a part of the legend, invented with a view to surpass asceticism of other sects and to show the utter futility of these extreme mortifications.[38]

19. Thus after passing 6 years of *Duṣkaracaryā*, Mara appears before him and Bodhisattva confronts him (18,pp.!91-192). After realizing the futility of 17 mortification, Bodhisattva decides to take food and being angry with his decision, the five disciples left him (12,p.193). All sources mention this event (MN,36,p.305; MVu,2,p.241; BC,12.114; *Nidana*,p.87).

20. Sujata, the daughter of near by village – Nandika at the bank of river Nairanjana, offers pāyasa in Golden vessel to Bodhisattva (pp.194-196). *Nidana* highlights the incident of preparation of pāyasa by Sujātā elaborately (p.88).

21. Bodhisattva's going to Bodhi-tree is narrated in two chapters named *Bodhimaṇḍagamana* (19) and *Bodhimaṇḍavyūha* (20). Later sources describe it in a very poetical way. LV describes the tree and its surroundings in a very exaggerated way (19,p.210).

22. Bodhiosattva sat down on the foot of the tree, on the seat of grass, cross legged (in Padmāsana) with his body upright facing East(19,p.210). All the sources agree on this point.

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23. Bodhisattva's defeating/killing of Mara and his army, is narrated in a long chapter (21, pp.218-249) called *Maradharśaṇaparivarta*. All the sources mostly record detailed mythological elaborations of this event (BC, 13.4-38; *Nidāna*, pp.92-95; MVu2, pp.410-414). All mention the names of his three daughters though with a difference. Arati is agreed by all as one of them, but, other two names are different – LV –Rati and Tṛṣṇā (21,p.237), Mvu – Tandri, Rati (2,p.287), BC – Prītī, Tṛṣṇā (13.3), Sn – Rāga, Tanha (3,p.108). BC mentions his three sons also – Vibhrama, Harṣa and Darpa (13.3).

24. Bodhisattva attains enlightenment (22,pp.250-258) and all devas happily showered flowers on him. The enlightenment was the realization of suffering (dukkha), its causes and getting rid of suffering, annihilation of birth, old age and death and to attain Sambodhi (Buddha-hood).

25. All agree that after enlightenment, Buddha spent sitting cross-legged, motionless, unfed and enjoying the bliss of eternal truth for days together. This period vary in some works – LV- 7 weeks (24,pp.274-276), MVu and *Abhis* (p.236) agree with it, BC – only 7 days (15.95), MV – till his attainment of enlightenment (1,p.3-5). In between, after 4th week, Mara Papiyan again comes with the request to Bodhisattva to enter into parinirvāṇa (p.274) and returns dejected as Bodhisattva says that I will not enter the parinirvāṇa till the Dharma and Sangha are solidly established –

26. Two merchants Trapusa and Bhallika (Tapussa and Bhalluka in Pali-texts), were passing from there but couldn't proceed further as their bullock-carts could not move ahead. Getting down they saw *Tathāgata and offered him 18 food of honey, milk and cake (of rice) – Madhutarpanamiksulikhitaka* (24, p.277). Other sources also mention the reference.[39]

27. After enlightenment, Bodhisattva became silent as he hesitated to preach his dharma to the world. But, when Brahma came for the fourth time with the same request, he agreed (25, pp.286-293).

28. At first Tathāgata (he instructs the five disciples to address him as "Buddha" when they call him "āyuṣmān Gautama, p.298), decides to preach

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his religious teachers Rudraka Ramaputra and Alada Kalapa but they were dead by the time. So he decides to find out his first five disciples who will understand his philosophy. He finds them in Kasi (26, PP.295-296).

29. He decides to go to Väranasi for Dharmacakrapravartana (26,p.296) and reaches Ṛṣipatana Mṛgadava through Magadha and Gaya. First address he gave about the four noble truths – suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, way leading to the cessation of suffering (p.303). All his preaching are narrated in this long chapter (pp.293-315)[40]. As it is said in the end of the chapter –

> एष सङ्क्षेपनिर्देशो धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तने।
> तथागतगुणवर्णः परीत्तोऽयं प्रकाशितः।। ७४।।
> बुद्धज्ञानमनन्तं हि आकाशाविपलं समम्।
> क्षपयेत्कल्प भाषन्तो न च बुद्धगुणक्षयः।।७५।।

Conclusion

Lalitavistara, which means 'exhaustive narrative of the sport of the Buddha', is truly exhaustive in every detail. The astonishing description of every event, made it unbelievable rather than a history. Wherever the numbers are mentioned, they are never small. Hundreds, thousands are very common factors. The legends are woven with the history in such a fashion that it is very difficult to separate biographical accounts from the legendary accounts. In LV and all the *Vaipulyasūtras* of the Mahāyāna, the picture that outlined the Buddha, is a grandiose one, encircled by divine radiance. He is surrounded by twelve thousand monks and by no less than thirty-two thousand Bodhisattvas. First two chapters are the circumstantial introductions which commence the biography proper of Buddha which form the content of the work. Though it starts with traditiona 'So have I heard, once upon a time....', it ends in *Mahāyāna-Sūtra* fashion of glorification of book of LV itself, and is devoted to the virtues of the advantage which man acquires by its propagation and 19 reverence. G. K. Nariman rightly opines,[41] "from all these it is quite probable that our *Lalitavistara* is a

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redaction of a Hīnayāna text expanded and embellished in the sense of a Mahāyāna, - a biography of Buddha representing the Sarvastivada school. This assumption also explains the nature of the text which is by no means, the single work of one author, but a compilation in which very old and very young fragments stand in juxtaposition". He finds the birth legend, Asita episode, Bimbisara history, dialogue with Mara - belong to the ancient religious ballad poesy of the first centuries after the Buddha[42]. The younger components are to be found not only in prose but also in the *Gathas* (verses). Its beauty lies in the fact that it is an important source of old Buddhism where it coincides with the Pali texts and other Sanskrit texts like MVu. Lalitavistara has given a colour of divinity to the life-history of a human Buddha. Buddha, who was the first rationalist of the world who asserted that one was one's own saviour and master without reference to any outside power. Radhakrishnan said in the foreword of the book '*2500 years of Buddhism*', 'Brāhmaṇas and Śarmaṇas were treated alike by the Buddha and the two traditions gradually blended. In a sense, Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism' (p.XVI). It is indeed an amazing thing to know that how the over-all devotion for a man can give flight to people's imagination to weave miracles and wonders around the historical facts so authentically that later on those historical facts become legends, accepted almost by everybody as a part of that great-man's life.

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Notes

1. Presented at the 'Inter-national Conference on Buddhist Heritage, Gujarat', at M.S.University of Baroda from 15th Jan 2010 – 17th Jan 2010.
2. Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.
3. Bajpai K. D. in the Foreword of The study of biographies of the Buddha by Ved Seth, Akay Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1992.
4. Date of birth of Gotama (Gautama) Buddha is now usually fixed at 563 BC. –Ved Seth, op cit, p.26.
5. Lectures on the origin and growth of Religion, Pub. Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Convent Garden, London 1906, p. 197.
6. Buddha, His life, His doctrine, His order by Herman Oldenberg, Tr. in English by William Hoey, Motilal Banarsidass Publisher Pvt. Ltd, Delhi-1997, p.73.
7. "The sacred language of Buddhism has not been one. The religion had early branched into several sects and each of them had a sacred tongue of its own. It is yet a moot question what the original language of Buddhism was and whether

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we have descended to us any fragment of the tongue employed by Buddha himself...Strictly speaking there are only two sacred languages of the Buddhists – Pali and Sanskrit. Pali is the hieratic language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam and Burma who observe a prosaic and more ancient form of Buddhism. The sacred language of Tibet, China and Japan is Sanskrit and although very few books on Buddhism written in Sanskrit have ever been discovered there, it is unquestionable that once upon a time there was an immense Buddhist literature, a vast cannon of which was translated into Tibetan and Chinese and latterly scholars have succeeded in recovering a portion of the Sanskrit canon which was believed to have perished beyond recall." -Nariman ,G.K., *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism* (From Winternitz, Sylvain Levi, Huber), Published by D.R.Tarporevala Sons & Co., Bombay,1920, p.16

8. The four Buddhist councils – 1. Held at Rājagṛha immediately after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha 2. held at Vaiśālī a century after the passing of Master 3. held at Pāṭliputra under the aegis of the celebrated Buddhist monarch Priyadarśī Aśoka 4. held under the auspices of Kaniṣka, a powerful king of the saka or Turuska race. Mentioned in the chapter IV, 'Four Buddhist councils' by B. Jinanand in the book *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Edited by P.V.Bapat, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Brodcasting, Govt. of India, 1959, pp.35-50
9. Takakusu by Itsing, pp.7-8, quoted in 'Sarvāstivāda Literature' by Anukula Chandra Banerjee, Pub. D. Banerjee, 1/5 Premchand Boral Street, Calcutta-12, 1957, p.3.
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12. Ibid, Intro.p.xvi.
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Brian Hougton Hodgson – a distinguished statesman, geographer, zoologist, ethnographist and investigator of the Indian languages and antiquities, was the first person to introducę Sanskrit Buddhist literature to the world. : *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p.301; Sarvastivadi Literature, p.13.

17 Nariman, G. K., *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism* (From Winternitz, Sylvain Levi, Huber), Published by D. R. Tarporevala Sons & Co., Bombay,1920, p.26.

18. *The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabudur : According to Lalitavistara* – Text, Edited by Dr. N. J. Krom, The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1926, p.2.

19. Ibid, p.2.

20. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts – No.1 : *Lalitavistara*, Edited by Dr. P. L.Vaidya, The Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1958, p.xi

21. Ibid, p. x. 10

22. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* by R. L. Mitra, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 8, Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta-6, Reprint 1971 (first edition – 1882), p. 36.

23. For further details, see Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (1953); *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol.II, ed. Dr. N. Dutt, Intro; Winternitz, *A History of IndianLiterature*, Vol.II, pp.226 ff; R. L. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Intro. –In FN of *Sarvāstivāda Literature* by Anukula Chandra Banerjee, p.15.

24. R. L Mitra, op cit, p.46.

25. Dr. Banerjee has reproduced a list of characteristics of *Gāthā* or Buddhist Sanskrit or Mixed Sanskrit (p. 14, reference wide *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Govt. Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* By H. P. Shastri (1917), Vol.1 (Buddhist Manuscripts),p.18.) which is applicable to *Lalitavistara* also

26. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Dr.N.Dutt, Vol.II, p.VIII.

27. *Lalitavistara* edited by P. L. Vaidya, *Śilpasandarśanaparivarta* 12th Ch, p.99.

28. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p.25.

29. Ved Seth, Op cit. 30.

30. जातीशतां पञ्चमनूनकारि

सा बोधिसत्त्वस्य बभूव माता।

पिता च शुद्धोदनु तत्र तत्र

प्रतिरूप तस्माज्जननी गुणान्विता।।१३।।

31. *The Life of Buddha...*, Krome,p.8.

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32 गजवर महाप्रमाणः षडदन्तो हेमजालसङ्काशः सुरुचिरः सुरक्तशीर्षः स्फुटितगलितरूपवान्। LV, 5.p.28.

33. *Nidāna*, p.64; Budhacarita (BC), 1.4.

34. Seth Ved,op cit,p.89 16

35. Ibid, p.103.

36. MN, 26,pp.213,215-216; Mvu 2,pp.118-120;BC,12.83-84;LV,16,pp.174;17,p.180.

37. नारीसहस्रेषु हि साग्रप्राप्ता। अथ घलु भिक्षवो बोधिसत्त्वो लोकस्याश्चर्यसन्दशनार्थं तीर्थिकानां च दर्पनिर्घातनार्थं परप्रवादिनां च निग्रहार्थं - - - निष्पद्य च स्वकायं चेतसा निगृह्णीते स्म, निष्पीडयति स्म। p.184.38 Seth Ved, op cit, p.113.

38. Seth Ved, op cit, p.113.

39. MVu, 3,pp.304-5; MVg, kh 1, pp.5-6; BC, 14.105. 40 43, p.305

40. बुद्धो धर्मच संघश्च इत्येतद्रत्नत्रयम्।
 परस्परां गतः शब्दो यावद् ब्रह्मपुरालयम्।। 43, p.305

41. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, P.24

42. Winternitz assigns third century to its present form. – Ved Seth, op cit, p.21. 20

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19

Cynicism as Protest in an Early Modern Sanskrit Poem

Kesavan Veluthat

The present paper embodied the results of the study of a Sanskrit text called *Mahiṣaśataka*, a hundred verses in praise of a buffalo, by Vāñcheśvara Dīkṣita alias Kuṭṭikavi, who lived in Thanjavur in the second half of the eighteenth century.[1] I argue that, it has to be seen as an example of severe political, social and cultural criticism rather than an idle literary endeavour or an exercise in scholarly activity.

It is often held that India had no tradition of political criticism taking the king and his actions to task. What she was used to, were the innumerable panegyrics starting from hero-lauds such as the gāthā-nāraśamsis in the Vedic literature and the araśar-vāttus of early Tamil songs and developing through the praśastis in the medieval period. This absence of any critical check, among other things, allowed kings to exercise unbridled power; nor was there any hereditary nobility that could offer any restraint on the despotic ways of the ruler. What western political thinkers saw in pre-modern India was this kind of a polity and a social form suited to it and they called it Oriental Despotism. Criticism of any variety was impossible in such a political atmosphere. Here were a set emasculated eminences who took all the atrocities of the state (read "king") lying down without so much as opening their mouth against them. Although such an argument was handy for the British colonial masters, it is opposed to evidence. The narmasaciva envisaged by the Dharmaśāstras, the vidūṣakas in the plays and so on discharged this duty very effectively. Disguised criticisms of the anyāpadeśa type and even more explicit ones are available in Sanskrit and other Indian languages. It is too early for at least people of Kerala to forget

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how the Cākyārs almost terrorized rulers in their kūttu and kūṭiyāṭam performances.

The author of this work, Vāñcheśvara Dīkṣita alias Kuṭṭikavi, lived in Thanjavur in the eighteenth century. The circumstances leading to the composition of this work are explained by the poet's namesake and great-grandson thus:

> The banks of Kāveri shine with a large number of scholars, with temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The matchless city of Thanjavur is situated there, the capital from where kings of the Bhosale line ruled. Vāñcheśvara, of the line of their ministers and an intellectual who had seen the other side of Vedas and Vedāñgas, used to lead the rulers along the path of justice from time to time. Once the boyish king got into the company of wicked friends and refused to listen to good counsel. In order to bring the king back from their company and lead him along the right path, he composed [verses] in praise of a buffalo and cleansed the intellect of the king of blemishes.[2]

However, the poet himself has a considerably different version of the text. He says that he retired to his village with these thoughts: "Where are the kings of yore, verily life-saving elixir to the hosts of scholars who approached them, and where are these vulgar urchins who look upon knowledge as so much of poison? What shall I do? Oh, mother Agriculture, protector of the worlds, I seek refuge in thee". (MŚ, v. 3, p.5.) Recognising that "he who protects you is your Lord" (MŚ, v. 9, p.13.), he composed a hundred verses in praise of his Lord, the buffalo. He makes it clear in the very beginning that it is not for the merit of the object, a lowly animal, that he takes up the project of composing a hundred verses in its praise; it is to denigrate those agents of the state who are intent on harassing him and punish them by the rod of speech. (MŚ, v. 10, p.14.) What follows is merciless rebuke of the king and his officers. It is far from the story of reforming the king with a song, as it were, as the commentator will have us believe. A little digression on the historical background of the poet and the poem will be in place here, so that both can be placed in better perspective.

Thanjavur, formerly the capital city of the Coḷas, was a major cultural

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centre of South India. That region came under the empire of Vijayanagara after the decline of the Coḷas. Like other parts of the empire, Lords known as Nāyakas had ruled over Thanjavur. When the Vijayanagara Empire declined in the seventeenth century, these Nāyakas became independent rulers of the respective regions. Thus, Thanjavur, like Madurai or Bidnur or Gingee, became an independent kingdom. Although the political power that the Nāyakas wielded had no comparison with that under the Coḷa as, the cultural activities inaugurated by the Coḷas continued in Thanjavur even under the Nāyakas. The ancestors of our poet were advisors of the Nāyakas of Thanjavur.

They came from Karnataka. The commentator describes his great-grandfather, the poet, as Kannaṭijātīya, "of Kannada extraction". This family seems to have been closely related to the Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgeri. The relations between that maṭha and Vijayanagara Empire are well known. Govinda Dīkṣhita, a great scholar from this family, was a good friend of Cevvappa Nāyaka, an associate of Emperor Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagara. When Cevvappa Nāyaka married the sister-in-law of Acyuta Rāya, he got the nāyakattanam "nāyakadom" of Thanjavur region as dowry. Govinda Dīkṣita accompanied Cevvappa Nāyaka to Thanjavur. We have some information regarding the scholarly activities of members of this line of stalwarts.[3] A mahākāvya called *Harivaṁśāsāracarita* summarizing the *Mahābhārata*, a commentary of the Sundarakāṇḍā of *Rāmāyaṇa* and a treatise on music called *Saṅgītasudhānidhi* are attributed to Govinda Dīkṣita. It is said that it was he who introduced the music of Vijayanagara to the court of Thanjavur, one reason by which that music came to be known as "Carnatic Music". He also composed a treatise called ṣaḍdarśana in the field of Mīmāṁsā. He is said to have organized a grand debate on the advaita of Śaṅkara, the dvaita of Mādhva and the viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja in the court of Thanjavur, with none other than Appayya Dīkṣita, Vijayīndra Tīrtha and Tātācārya representing these schools respectively. Yajña Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Veṅkaṭa Makhin, both sons of Govinda Dīkṣita, were reputed for their scholarship and poetic

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abilities. The former was the poet laureate of the Nāyakas of Thanjavur. He composed a mahākāvya called *Raghunāthabhūpavijaya* and a play called *Raghunāthavilāsa*, both on his patron, Raghunātha Nāyaka of Thanjavur. In another work called *Alaṅkāraratnākara*, he exemplifies all major figures of speech in Sanskrit by means of verses in praise of his patron. A few verses about him, composed by the celebrated Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Meputtūr from Kerala have come to light.[4] In fact, the Bhaṭṭa was all praise for scholars from the Coḷa country. Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita or Veṅkaṭa Makhin, the younger brother of Yajña Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, was another great scholar and musician. He was courtier of Raghunātha Nāyaka as well as Vīrarāghava Nāyaka, the last of the Thanjavur Nāyakas.

Ekoji, brother of Śivaji, captured Thanjavur from the Nāyakas and established the dynasty of the Bhosales there. Although Venkaji ruled for a short while following the death of Ekoji in 1683, Śahaji ascended the throne in 1687 after the death of the former. Veṅkaṭa Makhin seems to have joined the Maratta court. The Bhosales were not far behind the Nāyakas in the patronage of art and culture, including scholarship in Sanskrit. Śahaji, who ruled till 1710, was a scholar in his own right. He endowed an agrahāra called Śaharājendrapura in Tiruviśanallūr near Kumbhakonam for Brāhmaṇas. Govinda Dīkṣita's successors seem to have got land in it. There is a beautiful couplet that our commentator has composed about this agrahāra:

Śrīśaharājendrapure
Śrī śaharājendraviṣṭapaiḥ sadṛśe.

(In Śrīśaharājendrapura, comparable to the heaven of Śrīśa [Viṣṇu], Hara [Śiva], Aja [Brahmā] and Indra.)

For the deft use of paronomasia, our poet earned the title of śleṣacakravartin. He had shown his intelligence and poetic abilities even as a young boy. It is said that he accompanied king Śahaji to the Mīnākṣi temple in Madurai, where the king composed the following couplet *ex tempore* on the goddess:

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puri madhuram giri madhuram garimadhurandharanitambabhārāḍhyam,
sthūlakucam nīlakacam bālakalācandrāṅkitaū tejaḥ.

When the king paused, young Vāñcheśvara mused:

hṛdi tarasā viditarasā taditarasāhityavāṅ na me lagati,
kaviloke na viloke bhuvi lokeśasya śāhajerupamā .

Amazed, the king conferred on the poet the title "Kuṭṭikavi", meaning "Boy Poet", also suggesting affection.[5] He has written a couple of other śatakas or centuries such as *Dhāḍiśataka* and *Āśīrvādaśataka*, which I have not been able to lay my hands on. Like his predecessors, he too showed unswerving loyalty to royalty. Śahaji showed great respect for him in return. However, things were not quite the same always. Śarabhoji and Tulalāji, who succeeded Śahaji, were weak. Although the latter did patronise literature and music to some extent, he was not very successful. He had five sons, two born outside marriage. Pratāpasiṁha, one of the latter, captured power after deposing Sayyaji. He is described as "the wily Tanjorean" in contemporary English documents. The interest he showed in wine and women was notorious.[6] While the walls of the satras (wayside inns) built by Śarabhoji and others are adorned by scenes from the *Mahābhārata*, similar structures sponsored by Pratāpasiṁha show scenes of maithuna (copulation)!

An undesirable ruler was not the only curse of Thanjavur in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A severe famine struck the area in 1730. The fertile valley of Kaveri was afflicted by abject poverty. Contemporary British documents testify to the export of a large number of slaves from Nagapattanam. The British also led a military expedition against Pratāpasiṁha. The rivalries between the English and the French and the way in which the British threw in their lot in favour of the Nawab of Carnatic led to what are known as the Carnatic Wars, the details of which are too well known to be recounted here. These wars had a bad effect on the economy of the Kaveri valley in ways more than one. The depredations of Hyder Ali, destroying the embankments for irrigation and indulging in

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man-hunting in various ways, laid the countryside waste. As life became unbearable, all sorts of evils swallowed the land.

The conditions of that region are described vividly by Christian Frederic Schwartz, a German Pietist missionary who operated in Thanjavur in this period. The testimony of Schwartz is acceptable as his record is otherwise impeccable. He speaks about the miserable conditions of the region around Thanjavur in the wake of the terrible wars from the middle of the eighteenth century. Looting, arson, rape and other atrocities, which are essential items of any war, made life nearly impossible. The conversion of large numbers to swell the ranks of the "disciple regiments" by the Mysorean conqueror and the destruction of irrigation canals and embankments are pointed out as other factors responsible for the terrible conditions of life. Schwartz writes:

> When it is considered that Hyder Ali has carried off so many thousands of people, and that many thousands have died of war, it is not at all surprising to find not only empty houses, but desolate villages – a mournful spectacle indeed… We have suffered exceedingly in this fortress from hunger and misery. When passing through the streets early in the morning, the dead were lying in heaps on dunghills… such distress I never before witnessed, and God grant I never may again.[7]

Schwartz has admitted that his congregation had swollen, by people not so much convinced of the greatness of the Gospel as driven by hunger! He says that with their mental powers diminished by famine, it was difficult to teach them even the rudiments of a foreign faith!

Contagious diseases added to the problems. The Christian missionaries tell us about a terrible dysentery that visited the regions of Tranquebar. This and other forms of pestilence afflicted Tiruchchiṛāpaḷḷi, Thanjavur and the neighbouring regions in this period.[8] Misrule, war, diseases, British-French-Danish intrigues, the cruelties of the Nawab, attempts at Christian proselytisation as well as persecution of Christians – it was when Thanjavur had been checkmated by all these forces that Mahiṣaśatakam had its origin. The context in which the poet took to agriculture is important:

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"It is well known, all over the world, that there will be no famine by taking to agriculture. Even Manu permits agriculture and cattle-keeping for Brāhmaṇas in times of distress. When kings are greedy and times are agitated by distress, we take to agriculture for a living. What is wrong with that?" (MŚ. v. 5, p.8.) The way in which the expression durbhikṣa ("famine", "distress") is repeated in the poem is significant. The poet shows how scared he is of war – bibhemyāhavāt. (MŚ. v. 6, p.9.) In an advice that he gives scholars, he shows how fever and other diseases had affected the country of the Coḷas: "Don't be foolish, my dear friend, listen to me. Don't leave Lord Buffalo, who grants all desires, and go to the town of Śrīraṅgam, the abode of fever. There Prosperity (Śrī) is very distant; what you have at hand is the sound of the bell round the neck of the buffalo which the God of Death Rides". (M. v. 8, p.11-12.)

This poem shows how a concerned intellectual responded to the terrible times of distress in which he lived. Perhaps a comparison is possible here. Tyāgarāja, the reputed musician, had lived in the same place almost during the same period. When life became nearly impossible on account of war, pestilence, famine and poverty, Tyāgarāja took it as the inevitable manifestation of the Kali Age, the darkest possible period. The only redemption that he saw was through the mercy of god. His songs are the expression of an innocent mind that sincerely believed that devotion – undiluted devotion – was the only panacea for this distress. William Jackson has shown that although it will not be possible to take up any one of his compositions and show that it can be read against the background of any particular event;[9] but one can clearly hear a reaction to the political and social decadence as well as economic misery of his times reverberating in them. When he was ordered to go and sing in the royal court, he politely refused saying that his songs were reserved for the divine. This was the courage that devotion gave him. In the situation of helplessness, he cried out to god. But our poet chose to laugh, and laugh aloud somewhat cruelly. The echo of this laughter reaches and shakes many quarters. An examination of its contents will show how, going beyond frivolous cynicism, there is serious

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political and social criticism, expressing protest against the establishment and the order of things.

The first part of the poem consists of sharp criticism of the king and his officers, after dilating on the meaningless of serving them in a world where scholars and scholarship have lost their relevance. Then there is a detailed section where the king and his officers are equated with the buffalo, and vice versa. In the third and final part is social protest, clothed in subtle sarcasm. In the poet's own words, what he does is to punish the king and the officers of the state with the rod of speech. While the kings and ministers of old had been verily the nectar of longevity for the scholars who depended on them, the present ones are vulgar urchins, for whom knowledge is but poison. It is surprising that people still desire to go through the hell of waiting at the outer doors of the royal palace even after seeing the advantages of agriculture, hailed by both theory and practice. From the description of the bad fate of two scholars, Śrīdhara and Ambu Dīkṣita, Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat thinks that the historicity of the work is likely. Be that as it may, the poet's own experience is enough to show the negative attitude of the times towards scholarship: the renowned Kuṭṭikavi is sleeping at the doorsteps of evil lords! It is not just the capital of one's own country: even towns like Śrīraṅga are not any better.

The poet makes it clear that he is praising the buffalo just to pour scorn on the lords. He is putting his gifted tongue to good use just to disparage the lords who, not knowing his greatness, are engaged in harassing him. He is doing it by paying obeisance to his Royal Highness, the buffalo. For his anger to the wicked officers who persecute him, he is running down on them and punishing them with the rod of speech. If those kings become conscious of their weaknesses, he will be happy. The king is a fool; and his ministers are more so. Those who are around them are so many traitors who plunder everything. Even if you want to practice agriculture, O buffalo, don't do it in the Coḷa country: I was able to save my loincloth; you do not have even that!

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Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat seems to think that the denunciation and rebuke in this poem are directed more to the ministers, officers and other hangers-on of the king than to the king himself. He thinks that the story of the origin of the poem as given in the prologue of the commentary is probable.[10] Filliozat translates rājā mugdhamatiḥ in verse 12 as "the king is innocent in spirit" (*le roi est innocent d'esprit*) and concedes only that a direct criticism of the courtiers is an indirect criticism of the king. Perhaps he is carried away by the statement in the prastāvanā of the Srirangam edition and the prologue of the commentary by the great-grandson of the poet himself. The glosses of the great-grandson on certain verses (MŚ 1, 2, 11, 12, etc.) are keen to present the poet as very loyal to the king and such criticism as there are as directed against the hangers on. See, for instance, the gloss on v.11, which insists that "by this [verse] it is suggested that despite the primacy of the king, the officers around him are scoundrels; so also, this work is not rebuking the king but only giving him good counsel".[11] Further, taking the last two verses which are interpolations to my mind too may have led Filliozat to this position.[12] The subservience shown in these two verses does not gel with the strong criticism and severe sarcasm of the body of the text. It is likely that some pliant courtier interpolated these two verses at the end in order to please the king. Alternatively, even if the poet himself added them later on in order to escape punishment or so, still they have to be treated as interpolations – whether the poet does it or somebody else does it, interpolation is interpolation. Moreover, the 100th verse of the work,[13] where the poet compares himself with the gratified Rāma who has acquired Sītā (Rāma's wife in one register and furrow in the other), after crossing the ocean of distress with the help of the buffalo in whom the presence of all the major monkeys is attributed by a deft use of śleṣa-paronomasia, crowns the project. Anything after that is simply inappropriate. Hence I take the last two verses as interpolations, with no major harm to the poem.

Be that as it may, the poet shows no mercy in ridiculing and criticising the king. He wastes no time and begins the exercise in the third verse itself. After

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praising the kings of yesteryears such as Nānāji, Śahaji and their ministers such as Candrabhānu and ânandarāya, those of the present are described as "vulgar urchins" (vṛṣaṇāsabhyāḥ.) To be waiting upon the kings at their outer gates is the worst of hells. (*MŚ*, v. 4, p.7.) Kings are greedy. (*MŚ*, v. 5, p.8.) Kings, who cannot appreciate the poet's greatness, are engaged in persecuting him. (*MŚ Ś*, v. 6, p.9.) The poet was composing the poem not so much for the greatness of the lowly animal as for punishing the accursed officers and their lords who are engaged in harassing him. (*MŚ*, v. 10, p.14.) He hopes that the kings who can appreciate quality, hearing this essay on buffalo, learns about their own bad qualities from the suggestions in the speech of the poet. He wishes they start protecting their subjects according to law and earns the right to the power they wield. (*MŚ*, v. 11, p.15.) The king is stupid. (*MŚ*, v. 12, p.16.) The buffalo will be an illustrious member of the royal court; he does not have to worry that he does not have the necessary scholarship and expertise – those who are already there are even greater fools and he would be verily Vācaspati ("Lord of Eloquence") among them. (*MŚ*, v. 22, p.26.) The poet's words are sullied because he had earlier used them to praise the kings, mad with wealth and full of other vices. (*MŚ*, v. 26, p.29.) Enough of these kings, who are totally lawless. (*MŚ*, v. 29, p.32.) My ears are agitated by the cruel words, devoid of any compassion, of the evil kings who grow increasingly conceited every day; the buffalo's lowing is verily nectar to them. (*MŚ*, v. 31, p.33.) The shabby kings are stupid and detestable; their face is fearsome for the heat generated by wealth. There is no use waiting at their courtyard. ((*MŚ*, v. 32, p.34.) It is hazardous to stay in the courtyard of the royal palace, dark with the smoke issuing from the long cigars in the hands of the conceited soldiers used to speaking only foul language and stinking of their saliva; the buffalo protects you from that hazard. ((*MŚ*, v. 38, p.38.) Kings are too stupid to tell between what to do and what not because they are blinded by the darkness of wealth; let them stay where they are. (*MŚ*, v. 50, p.50.) These kings are murderously cruel like hunters. ((*MŚ*, v. 51, p.50.)

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It is not just on the basis of so many verses where the king is directly scolded that this work appears as strong political criticism aimed at the king himself. There are a number of verses where the king is equated with a buffalo and the buffalo is addressed as king. It will be agreed that this is not exactly panegyric. There are two ways in which the buffalo is equated with the king: a) by direct addresses and b) by attributing royal features in the buffalo. The buffalo is addressed in the following ways:

> *mahiṣādhirāja* (*vv.* 26, 30, 33, 54, 57, 64, 66, 79, 83); *sairibhapati* (*vv.* 8, 27, 35, 38, 49, 84); *mahiṣendra* (*vv.* 17, 34, 39, 52, 53, 61, 67, 70); *kāsarapati* (*vv.* 21, 51, 58, 78, 99); *kāsareśvara* (*vv.* 41, 72, 80, 86, 97); *kāsarendra* (*vv.* 37, 40, 81); *kāsarasārvabhouma* (*vv.* 29, 56); *mahiṣakṣitīśvara* (*vv.* 69, 92); *kāsarakṣmāpati* (*vv.* 90, 98); *lulāyarāja* (*vv.* 48, 60); *mahāsairibha* (*vv.* 71, 96); *sairibharājarāja* (*v.* 20); *śrīkāsarādhīśvara* (*v.* 62); *sairibhamaṇḍaleśvara* (*v.* 46); *sairibhamaṇḍalendra* (*v.* 68); *kāsaramaṇḍaleśvara* (*v.* 63); *mahiṣeśvara* (*v.* 7); *rājaśrīmahiṣa* (*v.* 9); *mahiṣābhikhya prabhu* (*v.* 23); *mahiṣāvatamsa* (*v.* 45); *lulāyaprabhu* (*v.* 6); *mahiṣādhīśa* (*v.* 77); *lulāyādhīśa* (*v.* 95).

At another level, all attributes of royalty are seen in the buffalo. He who protects people is himself the king. If a king is a king only after he is duly anointed, Oh, buffalo, please come to the pond. I shall pour pitchers of water on your head. (*MŚ*, v. 50, p.50.) The next verses end with the refrain, "you alone are our king!"[14] Thus, seen in any way you look at, the attributes of royalty are unmistakably present in the buffalo.

It does not end there. If the poet had to wait upon wicked kings, it was because he refused to follow Lord Buffalo. (*MŚ*, v. 7, p.11.) His guardian is now His Royal Highness, the Buffalo. (*MŚ*, v. 9, p. 13.) I shall consider the buffalo, who protects people with grain and [other forms of] wealth, as the one who is worthy of respect; what are other kings good for? (*MŚ*, v. 16, p. 20.) Oh, buffalo, the overlord, poverty does not occur even in dreams to those who seek refuge in you. Be it well for you, the friend of the scores of poor people. (*MŚ*, v. 30, p.33.) Scholars do not go to my king, the buffalo, who grants all wishes. (*MŚ*, v. 32, p. 34.) Cattle-shed is verily a palace for

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you and dung, musk; the dust on the floor is fresh silk cloth. (*MŚ*, v. 33, p. 35.) You look like one who is initiated to perform the aśvamedha. (*MŚ*, v. 58, p. 62.) When kings of purāṇic fame such as Bhīṣma (the terrible), Anala (one who is never satisfied), Nṛga (approachable to men), Hrasvaroma (with short hair), Bharata (weighty), Pṛthu (with a huge body), Marutta (more powerful than wind) are present in you, I shall not go to the wicked kings. (*MŚ*, v. 82, pp. 95-6) In another verse which uses the double entendre in an equally brilliant way, the poet sees in the buffalo the presence all major kings of the *Mahābhārata* fame. (*MŚ*, v. 85, p. 98-9.)

Seeing a buffalo in the king and the king in a buffalo is not all that we have in the political criticism contained in the poem. The poet does not spare a chance to scold the agents of the king, both the bureaucrats and the lords. The reference to the "vulgar urchins who look upon knowledge as so much of poison" in the very third verse is as much to the ministers as to the king. Ministers of the king are traitors and are intent on stealing everything. (*MŚ*, v. 12, p. 16.) Wicked fellows amass grains and wealth by competing with one another. Then, pretending to be enterprising, they aspire for political power and, finally, by bribing those close to the king, appropriate everything by force. Death to them! (MŚ, v. 13, p. 17) I took to agriculture as it was impossible to make a living through scholarship. When the crops become ripe, however, cheats of officers such as subedār, havaldār, majundār, etc. mercilessly encircle the field. Alas, what do I say? (*MŚ*, v. 15, p. 19.) Inebriated by the arrogance bred by prosperity, these corrupt followers of mammon get into the company of wicked friends and indulge in gluttony and sex. (*MŚ*, v. 16, p. 20.) These rich fellows who are evil are drunk with the pride of wealth. They are greedy. They are mean whoresons. They always speak harsh words. It is better to look at your huge testicles than seeing their face; by doing so, one is assured of a square meal. (*MŚ*, v. 17, p. 21.)

A few verses that follow are exclusively devoted to excoriate a category of officers known as the subedārs who seem to have earned the special wrath

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of the poet. As is well known the subedār was in charge of an administrative division known as the sūbah under the Mughals and Marathas. As they were in charge of collection of revenue in these divisions, it is natural that they were the object of hatred, not only because of the excessive extortions but also for the excesses they committed. The poet pulls no punch in rebuking them. Whatever the buffalo produces is taken away by the subhedārs: obviously, what parents produce is taken away by children, whether for love or by force. (*MŚ*, v. 18, p. 22.) By an expert use of paronomasia, the poet finds out similarities between the subedārs and the buffalo and sees that they are his brothers. His only doubt is: are they elder or younger? (*MŚ*, v. 19, p. 23.) The poet has been serving the buffalo long by giving him bundles of grass, washing him clean and massaging his body. Will he do a favour in return? Will it take the God of Death, riding on his back, to the subedārs sooner? (*MŚ*, v. 20, p. 24) Oh! buffalo, are you hungry? Go and eat those subedārs whom we consider as so much of grass. How does it help the world if he eats the dry, innocent, hay everyday? (*MŚ*, v. 21, p. 25.)

The *Mahiṣaśatakam* is not just political criticism alone. Kuṭṭikavi exposes and laughs at the social and cultural decadence that had swallowed the country. We saw that the rulers of the day are described as "vulgar urchins who look upon knowledge as so much of poison". This deterioration that had affected knowledge pains the poet. The statement that Śrīdhara had become an expert merchant of the commodity of knowledge and that the good food of Ambu Makhin had become gold itself shows how knowledge had become a saleable commodity. (MŚ, v. 7, p. 11.) He does not conceal his strong disapproval of it. Although he is pained about the way in which it has become difficult to make a living through education, it is in a lighter vein that he says it. (*MŚ*, v. 15, p. 19.) The poet's accusing finger points to other areas where society is decadent. He has only contempt, bordering on intolerance, for instituionalised religion. The meaninglessness of sacrificial rites, pilgrimage and various yogic practices is the subject of one verse. (*MŚ*, v. 36, p. 37.) The way in which Vedic scholars made a fetish of their expertise (*MŚ*, v. 54, p. 56.), Madhvācārya (*MŚ*, v. 55, p. 57.), Śrīvaiṣṇavas (*MŚ*, v. 57, p.

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61.), the ways of yoga (*MŚ*, v. 56, pp. 59-60.), the activities of a yajamāna in a sacrifice (*MŚ*, v. 58, p. 62.) – all this is the subject of the poet's ridicule.

The expertise of the poet in various branches of knowledge is remarkable. He shows considerable awareness of agricultural practices. He is a keen observer of things around him as just one svabhāvokti will testify to.[15] His scholarship ranges from Kāmaśāstra to Mīmāmsā, Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Prosody, Poetics, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Itihāsa and so on. And he attributes the details of an expert in each one of these in the buffalo, with the help of his mastery of the double entendre. He is quite an Emperor of Paronomasia, Śleṣacakravartin. Thus we have in the buffalo brahma (v. 59), Indra (v. 60), sālagrāma (v. 61), the ocean (v. 63), the mountain (v. 81), Hanūmat (v. 64), Kārtavīrya Arjuna (v. 65), a poet (v. 66), a poem (v. 67), Bharatācārya (v. 68) eleven incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha (vv. 69-79), Śiva (v. 80), kings of purāṇic fame (v. 82) Arjuna (v. 83), Karṇa (v. 84), the *Mahābhārata* (v. 85), Droṇa (86), Laṅkālakṣmī (v. 87), Rāvaṇa (v. 88), a Muslim called Chanda Khan (v. 89), a grammarian (v.90), a logician (v. 91), a philosopher of the Mīmāmsā school (v. 92), a poetic treatise (v. 93), the nine rasas (v. 94), a bon vivant (v. 95), a womaniser (v. 96), Vāli (97), the guardians of directions (v. 98), the great gifts (mahādānas) (v. 99) and a contended Śrīrāma (v.100). All this is achieved by an expert use of double entendre. No amount of appreciation will be too much about this aspect of the literary ability of the poet. So also, in the field of aesthetics, the poet achieves great heights, particularly employing different figures of speech. These are largely in the form of suggestions as are references to points of grammar, prosody, poetics, philosophy, logic, Dharmaśāstras, Kāmaśāstra, Purāṇas and so on. In fact, it will take a separate study to appreciate the literary and scholarly aspects of the poem.

My purpose here is to argue that this poem has to be seen primarily as expressing social and political protest. At a time when corruption and debauchery had overtaken the rulers and their agents, when the countryside lay prostrate with war, famine and pestilence, when social and religious

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practices had become decandent, when foreign powers of different descriptions were making a bid to establish economic and political control, when foreign faiths were making in roads, the poet comes out strongly with his protest. What we find here is not one of those "weapons of the weak". In dealing with the intellectual history of the "early modern" period of Indian history, historians have not given sufficient attention to such reactions of the intellectuals of the likes of Vāñcheśvara Dīkṣita. It is only after their work is appreciated that a fuller appreciation of how intellectuals reacted to changing times will be possible.

Notes

1. I am extremely grateful to Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat for not only drawing my attention to this great work but also spending many delightful hours and many e-mail messages discussing it. I have used his Introduction to a French edition of the work in a big way, although I respectfully disagree with him at certain points. *Mahiṣaśatakam*: Vāñcheśvara kavipraṇītam, La Centurie de buffle de Kuṭṭikavi, Edition et traduition par Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes, No 21.2, 2003 [hereafter *MŚ*], Association Francaise pour les Etudes Indiennes, Paris. Script: Nāgarī (and Roman for the French part). There are two earlier editions of it: a) *Mahiṣaśatakam* by Kuṭṭikavi, resident of Śahajimahārājapura or Tiruviśanallūr in the district of Tanjore, with the commentary entitled *Śleṣārthacandrikā* of Vāñcheśvara, edited by Rāmakṛṣṇamācārya of Vaṅgipuram with the assistance of Mahāliṅgaśāstrin of Śahajimahārājapura, published by Rañgācārya of Vaṅgipuram at Sarasvatīnilaya Press in 1875 samvat (AD 1932). Script: Telugu. b) *Mahiṣaśatakam* of Sri Vāñcheśvarakavi, with the commentary '*Śleṣārthacandrikā* of his great-grandson Śri Vāñcheśvara Yajva, with Sanskrit Prastavana by K. S. Venkatarama Sastri and an English introduction by R. Krishnaswami Iyer M.A., B.L. Advocate, Tinnevelly, edited by Gurubhaktasikhamani, Sastraprasarabhushana, T.K.Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A.Dharmadhikari, Sri Sankaragurukulam, Srirangam, 1946, IV, 8, 60 pages. Script: Nāgarī. I have edited and published it separately in Malayalam script with a Malayalam translation as well as in Devanagari script and English translation. Vañcheśvara Dīkṣita's *Mahiṣaśatakam*, edited, introduced and translated into English by Kesavan Veluthat, Kottayam, Mahatma Gandhi University, 2011; Vañcheśvara Dīkṣitaruḍe *Mahiṣaśatakam*, edited, introduced and translated into Malayalam by Kesavan Veluthat, Thiruvananthpuram,

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Kerala Council for Historical Research, 2011. I learn that there is another edition of the work which has come out recently: *Mahiḥaśatakam* of śrī Vañchānātha, edited and translated into Hindi and English Radhavallabha Tripathi, Delhi, New Bharatiya Book Corporation, 2010. I have not yet been able to lay my hands on this edition.

2. See Prologue to the Commentary by VañcheśvaraYajvan, vv.2-7, MŚ, pp.1-2.
3. The following details about the family are from MŚ, Introduction, pp. 3-5.
4. These verses are part of a letter that Narayana Bhatta wrote to two great scholars from the Coḷa country, Somadeva Dīkṣita and Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, enclosing his *Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhanam*. The ones referring to Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita are:

yuṣmadvaiduṣyadhṛtam khalu kaṣakabhuvi trāyat bhogirājam,
vāṇīveṇīvidhṛtāmapi surasaritam kaṅkaṭīko jaṭāyām,
ityevam yajñanārāyaṇavibudhamahādīkṣitāḥ śatruvarga-
trāṇāddevasya tasyāpyapaharata dhiyā sādhu sārvajñagarvam.
yuṣmādeva kṣitīśo vipulanayavidhiṣhṭate rājyadṛṣṭau
tiṣṭadhve yūyameva prathitabudhajane sandihāne samete,
yuṣmabhyam tiṣṭhate kastridaśagurusamāno'pi yuṣmādṛgaṇyaḥ
prajñālūn yajñanārāyaṇavibudhamahādīkṣitān vīkṣate kaḥ.
asvasthāḥ keraḷīyāssvayamatimṛdavastatra cāham viśeṣā-
tsārve dūrapracāre khalu śithiladhiyaḥ kim punardeśabhede,
evam bhāvye'pi daivāt kuhacana samaye kalyatā kalyate cet
prajñābdhīn yajñanārāyaṇavibudhamahādīkṣitānīkṣitāhe.

The letter was discovered and published by Paṇḍitar E.V.Raman Namboodiri in Mathrubhumi Weekly, February 5, 1939, and is reproduced by Vaṭakkumkūr Rājarājavarma Rājā in his monumental Keraḷīya Samskṛta Sāhitya Caritram, revised second edition, Kaladi, 1997, vol III, p. 27.

5. These details are taken from *MŚ*, Introduction, pp. 9-11.
6. For some of these details, William Jackson, Tyāgarāja: Life and Lyrics, Delhi, 1991, 2002, pp.76-91.
7. Quoted in Ibid., p. 87.
8. Ibid., passim.
9. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 90-93.
10. *MŚ*, Introduction, pp. 11-12.
11. "*anena rājñaḥ prāmāṇikatve'pi tatparisaravartino'dhikariṇaḥ khalā iti sṛcyate. tathā ca rājño'pi hitopadeśarūpatvānnaitat prabandhe rājño dveṣa iti bhāvaḥ.*" Commentary on v. 11. *MŚ*, p. 15.

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12. *Śrīmadbhosalavaṃśadugdhajaladheḥ sampūrṇcandropamo*
yaḥ śāsti kṣitimakṣati kṣitipatir mūrtaḥ pratāpaḥ svayam,
dīrghāyurjitaśatrurātmajayuto dharmī prajārāgavān
ullāgho'stu sa nistulairnijasabhāstāraiḥ kramādāgataiḥ,
rājā dharmaparaḥ paramparadhṛtasnehāśca tanmantriṇo
rājanyatvanī vanīpakajanā āḍhyā bhavantu kṣitau,
puṣṭāṅgāḥ paśavaścarantu bhajatām durbhikṣvārtā layam
vāñchānāthakaveḥ kṛtiśca kurutām nirrmatsarāṇām mudam.
MŚ, vv. 101-2, *pp.* 120-1.

13. *sugrīvo'si mahān gajo'si vapuṣā nīlaḥ pramāthī thathā*
dhūmraścāsi mahānubhāva mahiṣa tvam durmukhaḥ kesarī,
ittham te satatam mahākapiśatākārasya sāhāyyataḥ
sītām prāpya vilaṅghya duḥkhajaladhīm nandāmi rāmaḥ svayam.
MŚ, v. 100, p. 119.

14. *bhūpo bhūpa itīva kim nvanugatā jātirghaṭatvādivad-*
bhūmāvasti ya eva rakṣati janān rāja sa eva svayam,
kim bhūmīpatayaḥ śarārava ime krūrāḥ kirātā iva
prāyaḥ sārvajanīna kāsarapate rājā tvamevāsi naḥ.
sānandam mahiṣīśatam ramayase mūrdhābhiṣikto'nvaham
tvam vālavyajanāvadhūtimasakṛt prāyeṇa śṛṅgānvitaḥ,
kim ca svām prakṛtim na muñcasi tṛṇaprāyam jagat paśyasi
svastiśrī mahiṣendra te'stu niyatam rājā tvamevāsi naḥ.
MŚ, vv. 51-2, pp. 50-54. See also the commentary on v. 52
rājapakṣe: mahiṣīṇām kṛtābhiṣekāṇām strīṇām. 'kṛtābhiṣekā mahiṣī' ityamaraḥ. śate sahasre vā parigṇite ramayase. antaḥpurastriyaḥ yathā sambhogādinā tuṣyanti tathā kalāśāstroktaprakāreṇa tāsām prītyatiśayam janayati. 'mūrdhābhiṣikto rājanyaḥ' ityamaraḥ. vālam cāmaram vyajanam tālavṛntādikam tayoravadhūtim.śṛṅgeṇa prabhutvenānvitaḥ. 'śṛṅgam prabhutve' iti viśvaḥ. svām prakṛtim svakīyārājyāṅgam svāmyamātyādikam. 'rājyāṅgāni prakṛtayaḥ' ityamaraḥ. jagadbhuvanam. tṛṇaprāyam tṛṇasadṛśam yathā bhavati tathā paśyati. janeṣvaiśvaryādyalpatvena tatra rājñaḥ tṛṇabuddhirbhavatītyarthaḥ. MŚ, pp. 53-54.

15. *kedāre mahiṣīmanojagṛhamāghrāyonnamayyānanam*
dantān kiñcidabhipradarśya vikṛtam kūjan khuraiḥ kṣmām khanan,
pratyagrāyitasūraṇāṅkuranibham yatkiñcidujjṛmbhayann-
ānandam mahiṣeśa nirviśasi yat tadṛṣṭunetrotsavaḥ.
MŚ, v. 39, p. 39.

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Dhvanyālokalocana and Reflections on Aesthetics in Sanskrit

Ramankutty P. V.

Saiva metaphysician, tantric, rhetorician, critic on dramaturgy and artistic genius, all rolled into one, Abhinavgupta is held as the early authoritative harbinger of Indian aesthetic thought. A polymathic and prolific writer, he was born and brought up in Śāradādeśa, modern Kashmir, in an atmosphere of devout devotion and learning par excellence. He was mentally groomed to undertake great intellectual work as is evident from his forty-odd works on many a different disciplines on Sanskrit learning which include the twin lost works namely *Vivaraṇa*, a commentary for Bhaṭṭatauta's *Kāvyakautuka* as well as *Nāṭyalocana*, an independent work on dramaturgy. He had his education from as many as twnenty-six Guru-s for whom he has expressed his indebtedness with reverence both in Locana as well as *Abhinavabhāratī*. It was Bhaṭṭendurāja who instructed him in the theory of dhvani and in Locana, even from the outset he goes on referring to his preceptor's propositions he unravels the cardinal principles and aspects of the theory of dhvani. With his limitless curiosity and insatiable desire for knowledge, he travelled far and wide to gather traditional wisdom. In *Tantrāloka* (vii. 205-206), Abhinavagupta observes that there is no harm in approaching several teachers to attain perfection in as many disciplines as possible but, at the same time, one is not to be a mere carrier of the burden of the Guru-s and their followers. This statement underlines the significant trait of his character as an enlightened rebel. This aspect gets mirrored in his art of writing too. Abhinava imbibed creative energy from tradition to mould his personality. Tradition had ever been an invaluable moving force to him rather than a

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lingering burden. Encircled by a host of intellectuals like Kṣīrasvāmin, Kṣemendra, Kṣemīśvara, Hemacandra, Kaiyaṭa, Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa etc. Abhinava stood tall and commanding on the cultural domain in the latter part of the tenth and the first part of the eleventh century A. D.

In the 4th udyota of *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana equates Dhvani to a Kalpavṛkṣa - the wish-yielding tree of the celestial gardens. Abhinava tapped its unending potential and possibilities. The principle of dhvani had ever remained embedded in the sublime poetry penned by great poets like a lamp waiting to be lit. Ānanda lighted it and Abhinava lighted it again, its illumination dilating like a guiding flash. With this new-found illumination Abhinava enriched the literary and aesthetic discourse in Sanskrit.

Locana

Abhinava's *Dhvanyālokalocana* has been one of the most influential works on Sanskrit literary criticism and aesthetics. *Locana* probably preceded Abhinavabhāratī. Abhinava wrote *Locana* after a lapse of nearly one hundred and fifty years since Ānandavardhana penned *Dhvanyāloka* which means that its influence was reigning supreme in literary domain for one and a half century. *Locana* is not merely a commentary on the 116-odd kārikā-s, the explanatory passages called vṛtti and the nearly 230 verses of examples (some of them are dhvanikāra's own) of *Dhvanyāloka*. In a language that is forceful, subtle and creative at the same time, Abhinava lays bare many a novel concept regarding literary art. His long and rhythmic passages in *Locana* presuppose the most whole-hearted attention of the reader. He has carefully chosen to explain even those parts in the *vṛtti* which are left unexplained by Dhvanikāra, He has congruously undertaken to:-

1. Elucidate the original views of the author contained in the kārikā-s.
2. Explain the contextual relevance of the siddhantapakṣa or demonstrated conclusions.
3. Justify each and every proposition of the author and
4. Amalgamate and establish the author's observations incorporating and synthesizing his own principles and concepts

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Elsewhere in the prologue of his commentary to *Naṭyaśāstra*, Abhinava has formulated his concept of a true commentary:

> उपादेयस्य सम्पाठस्तदन्यस्य प्रतीकनम्
> स्फुटव्याख्या विरोधानां परिहारः सुपूर्णता।।
> लक्ष्यानुसरणं श्लिष्टवक्तव्यांशविवेचनम् ।
> सङ्गतिः पौनरुक्त्यानां समाधानमनाकुलम्।।
> सङ्ग्रहश्चेत्ययं व्याख्याप्रकारोत्र समाश्रितः।।

Abhinava absolves Ānandavardhana from some of the apparent inconsistencies and ambiguities even while remaining faithful to the author's original views by means of his subtle and skilful way of interpretation. Abhinava's subtle interpretation of Ānanda kārikā on the definition of dhvani is one of the several examples. Abhinava makes use of his deep erudition in Nyāya, Mimāṁsā and Vyakaraṇa in order to offer a correct understanding of the text. He goes on explaining the passages of *Dhvanyāloka* to precisely point out where the significance of the suggested sense lies thereby enabling the reader to touch up on the exact spot where beauty is embedded and from where the connoisseur obtains his bliss – अलौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसः। It is this kind of prime concern for beauty and his careful and unswerving aesthetic approach that makes Locana a unique piece of creative criticism. One is here reminded of his commitment to the aesthetic element in poetry as he explains the sentiment of fury in a couple of verses from the play *Veṇīsaṁhāra* with reference to diction in poetry couched in compounded or non-compounded words. Abhinava observes that the gestures of lovely women and the words of great poets never cease to yield newer and newer grace and charm. It is the duty of a critic to extract and elucidate that stream of beauty.

Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics

The term aesthetics denotes a philosophical theory or idea of what is aesthetically valid at a given time and space. In this sense it was Ahinavagupta who lifted Sanskrit poetics to the level of aesthetics infusing

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it with a totality of aesthetically valid elements and a kind of philosophical dimension. He was a person 'whose philosophical acumen is recognized to be at least as sound as his aesthetic sense' (*The Indian Theory of Aesthetics*: 2005: 83). That was why he could provide a strong philosophical footing for the artistic principle called rasa. One of the harbingers of creative criticism in Sanskrit, Abhinavagupta enriched literary criticism in Sanskrit with a rare tinge of versatility as well as refined poetic sensibility or 'trained intellectual response' as I.A. Richards has put it. He was a scholar, connoisseur and aesthetician rolled into one. It was perhaps only Jagannātha who took the cue from Abhinava's concept of 'lāvaṇya' and transformed it as' by which he seeks to mean extra-wordly joy associated to poetic experience - रमणीयता च लोकोत्तराह्लाद-जनकज्ञानगोचरता।

Abhinava's critique called Locana was thus not merely a preoccupation with the various aspects of the theory of dhvani. He enriched Sanskrit literary criticism by incorporating his own observations, concepts, precepts, principles and expressions couched in a language marked for its illuminating force and grace. He was in a sense, re-discovering a true language of creative criticism. His erudition in several disciplines of the time and his cultural legacy enabled him to walk along hitherto untrodden paths. It is no wonder, therefore, that the post-Abhinavagupta period witnessed a near-total acceptance of his views on Sanskrit aesthetics.

It was dhvanikāra who emphasised after Bharata that poetry is ultimately an affair of heart as James Reeves would put it. For the first time in Sanskrit poetics, dhvanikāra seemed to underline the meaning of the well known couplet of John Keats namely 'heard melodies are sweet, those that are unheard are sweeter'. He brought out the idea that poetic content, which is essentially suggestive in nature, cannot be communicated by a language that does not deviate from the norm. He invented a unique function of word namely Vyñjanāvyāpāra in order to convey the suggested sense of poetry whose crux is its emotional content represented in myriad situations by means of characters. It was this principle of the suggestive

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import of emotional experience of dhvanikāra that was later taken up by Abhinavagupta. If poetic language is adjudged to be a unique and peculiar one, the language that analyses it also needs to be on par with it which reminds one of the observation of Eliot that only a poet can be a critic. This was precisely what Abhinava did. He unravelled a totally new terminology for Alaṁkāraśāstra in Sanskrit. He had to explain the contents of the works of stalwarts like Bharata and Dhvanikāra both of whom present deep philosophical insights in their works. Abhinava culled tenets, principles and phrases from philosophy, metaphysics, tantra, ethics and psychology. Here is his world of new philosophical expressions introduced into the language of the science of poetry: प्रख्या, उपाख्या, आत्मानन्दः, स्पन्दः, भासनं, प्रकाशः, विमर्शः, आभासः, अनुत्तरा, निमेषः, उन्मेषः निर्वेशः, निष्पन्दः, स्फुरत्ता, संवित्, अनुव्यवसायः, प्रतिभा, शक्तिः and the like.

Abhinava's language of criticism mirrors his profound thought-currents. Sublime reflection needs to be couched in sublime language, which highlights the peculiar experience of sahṛdaya, whose definition by him is a well known in Sanskrit aesthetics. I. A. Richards has observed that it is not easy to unravel the secrecy of poetic creation; what can be done is to analyse the nature of the peculiar experience of the reader or the spectator. The sahṛdaya or the sāmājikā is the locus and focus of rasa-realisation in whom the aesthetic pleasure radiates. Abhinava's enlightened exposition of the theory of dhvani in *Locana* bears ample testimony for his gift of creative and critical acumen and scholastic depth.

Pioneer of Creative Criticism

Renowned for his unique literary bent of mind and intellectual calibre, Abhinava was the harbinger of creative criticism in Sanskrit. With his illuminating wealth of views and visions, It was not his intention to give a simple and direct meaning of *Dhvanyāloka* as it was probably done in the commentary of *Candrikā* which he himself has referred to. He had an unstinted inclination to camatkṛti or beauty in poesy. In other words his was an approach that was unmistakably an aesthetic one. This, of

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course, does not mean that he was deviating from the original views of Dhvanikāra. Indeed it has been observed that Abhinava presents the views of Anandavardhana more logically than Ānandavardhana himself (J. L. Masson, M. V. Patwardhan, 1970: Introduction). Never does he tamper with dhvanikāra's genuine view-points which lay bare a wholly new brave world in the domain of poetics. One can observe that Abhinava's approach was also a subjective one. Indeed it has been observed that Abhinava subjectively analysed what was objectively explicated by Bharata. (Ingalls, J. L. Masson, M. V. Patwardhan, 1990: *Introduction*). This is true in the case of *Locana* also. But his subjective approach only adds vigour, vitality and creativity to his critique. In *Locana* and *Bhāratī*, Abhinava dealt with almost every aspect of Indian aesthetics. He adopted a style of criticism with several sparks and flashes of original reflection.

Abhinava's art of interpreting and analyzing the theory of dhvani betrays his supreme aesthetic sensibility. It lays bare a luminous world before the reader and opens up many a possibility to discern and enjoy the work and in a sense, modifies the reader's/spectator's appreciative as well as aesthetic sensibility. A sensitive reader is often overwhelmed by his masterly sweep at offering newer interpretations which are always illuminating. The Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta school herald a world of new expressions to describe the experience of the sahṛdaya namely, rasanam, samapattiḥ, layaḥ, tanmayībhāvanā, carvaṇa, tāṭasthya, sādhāraṇīkaraṇa, vyañjanā, abhivyakti, visrāntisthānatva, alaukikacamatkāra, ātmānanda, samarpakatva, hṛdayasamvāda and the like. In order to concretize the secret of poetic creation this school again gives yet another set of words like pratīyamānata, dhvanyātmakatā, navanavonmeṣaśālita, navanavollekhaśālita pratinavakautukādhāyakatva, etc. With his multi-faceted erudition, the kind of sportive nature that mirrors his command over the subject, the bulk of quotations that shows the range of his familiarity with literary works and at the same time his honesty in admitting that he has not seen all the works cited, his competence at codification and

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explanation, and finally his free-flowing, rhythmic, attractive language; Abhinava was a remarkably different critic in Sanskrit poetics.

On Aesthetic Experience

Abhinavagupta convincingly brings out the colourful nature and grace of aesthetic experience. The mind that emerges from the pages of his Locana and Abhinavabhāratī is that of a poet and matured philosopher-turned-critic. He raises the question, ' what does imaginative experience lead to?' and attempts to answer it by creating a new world of creative criticism almost unknown to Sanskrit poetics during the period after Bharata and before Dhvanikāra (855-883 AD). It is true that Sanskrit poetics had close association with philosophy that had greatly enriched it. Bhamaha's affiliation to Buddhist logic is evident though he takes up several of its principles including Apohavāda for refutation (*Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra: A Critical Study and Edition:* 2007 p.31). Udbhaṭa was a Lokāyatika. Bhaṭṭanāyaka's allegiance was to Mīmāṁsā philosophy and Rūpagoswāmin was a follower of Vaiṣṇava cult. But after Bharata and until the time of dhvanikāra , there was not much in Sanskrit literary criticism which could be called aesthetics. It was the essentials of the theory of dhvani, as enunciated and expounded by Abhinava with an orientation of the experience of the Sahṛdaya mixed with the colour and grace of Śaiva metaphysics, that greatly contributed to Indian aesthetics. Abhinava quotes from several authors including Dharmakīrtī, the author of the Pramaṇavārtika. But for Abhinava, one will never have known the views of Lollaṭa Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanayaka and Bhaṭṭa Tauta on rasānubhava. The following points constitute the part and parcel of Abhinava's exposition of aesthetic experience:

1. Abhinava's exposition of the nature of aesthetic experience is inherent of several conepts so far unknown in Sanskrit poetics. One such concept is aesthetic distance: The sahṛdaya or one who is sensitive to literature, experiences the emotional charge because of his/her hṛdayasamvāda or sympathetic response and his/her tanmayībhāva or identification

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with the principal character and situation. But the identification is never complete. There is some kind of detachment on the part of sahṛdaya and it is called aesthetic distance. So the term aesthetic distance implies to a degree of detachment from or non-identification with the character or situation of a work of art. It promotes the formation of judgment based on aesthetic criteria. Such a phenomenon is implied in Abhinava's concept of rasānubhava. Even if one admits that sthāyibhāva-s belong to the character, there is a difference. Once the character experiences the sthāyin, he reaches the height of emotion. But the spectator can go further, or in a sense, deeper. The sthāyibhāva is transferred to an extra-worldly state or alaukikāvasthā. The sahṛdaya sympathises with the original character and that is what is called hrdaysamvāda. He even identifies with the situation depicted. But he does not completely identify with the character. He retains certain aesthetic distance. Here is the passage from locana:

स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ स्वात्मनि रसस्य उत्पत्तिरेव अभ्युपगता स्यात्।
सा चायुक्ता सीतायाः सामाजिकं प्रति अविभावत्वात्।

So rasa implies detachment. Without this aesthetic distance literature cannot exist. This is what Abhinava means when he compares drama to a dream.

2. Another concept is carvaṇa. Aesthetic relish is seen produced by repeated involvement in poetry. It implies to the sensory and imaginative nature of beauty which becomes enjoyable by means of carvaṇa itself which is evident is passages like - अलौकिकनिर्विघ्नसंवेदनात्मकचर्वणागोचरतां नीतोर्थः रसः, चर्व्यमाणतैकसारो रसः etc. It is like a slow walk into the deep paths of the woods of poetic literature. Here is another passage: तत्र सर्वे अमी सुखप्रधानाः स्वसंविच्चर्वणारूपस्य एकघनस्य प्रकाशस्य आनन्दसारत्वात्।

3. One of the features of poetic experience is its unmixed spontaneity. The dilettante is to feel that the emotional experience of the character is spontaneous which emphasizes the necessity of a certain degree of aesthetic realism in emotional experience. Nobody can create aesthetic experience at

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will. He/she forgets all his/her pre-occupations and gets lost in aesthetic relish. Poetry is like a woman in love. The sahṛdaya is to respond with equal love. If the reader is like a dry wood, poetry is like fire. It is like a clean cloth dipped in pure water. It swiftly absorbs water. Experience from poetic art makes one carried away by some mysterious delight. According to Abhinava, aesthetic experience is different from ordinary, mundane experience. It is alaukika in the sense that it is autonomous, independent and other-worldly. It is the imagination of the reader/spectator which is at play in aesthetic experience. Once the reader's imaginative faculty gets aroused, he/she gets transported into a world of his/her own. It is the sinequanon of aesthetic bliss.

4. On the nature of aesthetic bliss, look at the expressions used by Abhinava in order to picture the nature and effect of the aesthetic experience: अस्मन्मते संवेदनमेवानन्दघनमास्वाद्यते। तत्र का दुःखाशङ्का। केवलं तस्यैव चित्रताकरणे रतिशोकादिवासनाव्यापारः। The passages unmistakably are reminiscent of Upanisadic undertones.

5. The sahṛdaya's heart must become like a spotless mirror. He forgets all his preoccupations and gets lost in aesthetic relish. The appreciation of art like music, poetry and literature is heightened by the removal of the veil of ignorance and the final bliss or beatitude is akin to the joy resulting from the knowledge of Brahman. And this is what is called transcendental delight. It seems that Abhinava was the first Indian philosopher who incorporated religio-philosophical content to literary experience.

6. Abhinavagupta focused on the human mind rather than the linguistic medium while Dhvanikāra gave emphasis on the suggestive language where all the words become vyañjaka-s in order to convey the emotional content of the poem which can only be communicated by a kind of language that is couched in sheer power of dhvani or suggestion. According to Abhinavagupta the reader/spectator is the focal point of aesthetics. He will be the last person to share the view of Rājaśekhara who observes that the bhāvuka is the one who is to remain contented only in examining the

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work of a poet who has the genius to create gold out of stone- एकः सूते कनकमुपलः तत्परीक्षाक्षमोन्यः ।

Conclusion

According to the theory of rasadhvani in Sanskrit poetic discourse, the significant factor is the presentation and communication of the emotional experience. In the history of Sanskrit poetics, for the first time, after Bharata, Ānandavardhana declared that the goal of poetry was the evocation of rasa, the emotional content of poetry. The emotive charge resulting from the appreciation of art needs to have a strong sense of suggestion. This is where dhvani steps in. This can be explained by recognizing a special function of word called vyañjanā, for the emotional content of poetry is always beyond abhidhā (denotation) or lakṣaṇā (metaphor), tātparyaśakti, arthāpatti etc. Its communication can be made possible only by the power of suggestion. Ānandavardhana subsumes under dhvani all that is great and sublime in poetry. A stimulation of powerful and inspired emotion, which Longiunus considers the chief source of the sublime, is possible, according to Ānandavardhana, only in dhvanikāvya. Such a concept thus bears close affinity with the Longinian concept of the sublime. (*Global Aesthetics and Sanskrit Poetics*: 1998: 71).

Literary experience is heightened by the removal of the veil of ignorance and the final bliss or beatitude, as is mentioned above, is akin to the joy resulting from the knowledge of Brahman. Aesthetic experience is different from ordinary, mundane experience. It is alaukika in the sense that it is autonomous, independent and other-wordly. It is imagination of the reader/spectator which is at play in aesthetic experience. The factors which bring out aesthetic experience namely vibhāva-s anubhāva-s, and sañcārībhāva-s are universalized and the individual reader/spectator is also depersonalized and he/she is freed from individual aspects pertaining to space, time etc. which constitute the reader's/spectator's individuality. He/she is thus raised and lifted to the level of the universal. The ultimate aim of literature is viśrānti or repose.

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Abhinava unified the scattered voices of earlier writers 'with a masterful synthesis embracing philosophical speculation, mysticism as well as aesthetics' (The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta: 1968: xLvii). His is a critique marked by brilliant peeps into the ways of the functioning of human psyche. For Abhinavagupta, poetry was something meant for the soul's search for release. Aesthetic ecstasy was sure to bring rest in philosophical beatitude. Abhinava holds that aesthetic experience brings out emotional balance, mental equilibrium, peace and rest as is evident from his expressions like, विश्रान्तिस्थानत्वं रसत्वम्, संविद्विश्रान्तिः, चित्स्वभावनिर्वृतिविश्रान्तिः (*Locana*), अनुत्तर एव विश्रान्तेरानन्दः। (*Śivadṛṣṭi, Ulpalavṛtti*), स्वातन्त्रयं, आनन्दशक्तिः, प्रकाशरूपत्वं (*Tantrasāra*, 1.5, 1.6.1.12) etc. He seems to mean that the ultimate state of aesthetic bliss is the declaration of one's own free will. In short, Abhinava's treatment of literary experience is aesthetic, psychological and spiritual at the same time . His principle of rasabrahman is similar to Śārṅgadeva's concept of nādabrahman in music and Bhartṛhari's concept of śabdabrahman in philosophy of grammar. According to Abhinava, rasānubhava is not devoid of a deep awareness of dharmādharmavyutpatti that is linked with a supreme sense of aucitya or sense of propriety as is obvious in passages from the *Locana* like,

न चैते प्रीतिव्युत्पत्तिभिन्नरूपे द्वयोरप्येकविषयत्वात्।
विभावाद्यौचित्यमेव हि प्रीतेः निदानमित्यसकृदवोचामः।
विभावादीनां तत्तद्रसोचियानां यथास्वरूपवेदनं फलपर्यन्तीभूततया व्युत्पत्तिरित्युच्यते।

In this sense Abhinava somehow attempts to correlate and strike a balance between the mundane and the spiritual. He thus was not a proponent of the later maxim in literary criticism namely 'art for art's sake'. But for a theory of value, rasānubhuva is liable to be misunderstood with some kind of hedonism or Epicureanism. Rasānubhava, as expounded by Abhinava has been likened to I. A. Richards' concept of beauty explained in his *Foundations of Aesthetics* thus: 'Beauty engenders a peaceful and pleasurable state of mind called synaesthesis in which all the faculties are alive and active and pleasure results from their harmonious adjustment'.

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In his Principles of Literary Criticism also I. A. Richards points out that all the complex thoughts, feelings and desires, which are stimulated, are simultaneously put into an ordered pattern leading to mental peace and pleasure. According to the Indian concept, the river of life, after much tumults and tribulations, reaches into the ocean of calm and quietude. For Richards, a theory of value in regard to aesthetic experience is as significant as a theory of communication. The former bears affinity with what has been suggested by Abhinava on the nature and value of aesthetic experience. All these aspects make Abhinava the father of critical thought and aesthetics in Sanskrit and his views came to be held as the standard exposition of the later aesthetic reflection in the history and evolution of literary criticism in Sanskrit.

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श्रौतकर्म में अभिचार का स्वरूप

नारायणदत्तशर्मा

अभि उपसर्गपूर्वक चर् धातु से घञ् प्रत्यय लगाकर भाव अर्थ में अभिचार शब्द की निष्पत्ति होती हैं। शत्रुवध के निमित्त की गयी क्रिया ही अभिचार शब्द से व्यवहृत होती है।[१] यह क्रिया प्रायः हिंसक ही है, इसलिए अमरकोशकार ने अभिचार का अर्थ इसी भाव में व्यक्त किया है।[२]

रामाश्रमी टीकाकार ने 'हिंसाफलं कर्म' (अमरको. ३.२.१९) कहकर जिस अभिचार क्रिया को परिभाषित किया, उसने षट् कर्म मारण-मोहन-उच्चाटनादि के रूप में धीरे धीरे एक परिपूर्ण एवं व्यवस्थित विस्तृत रूप धारण किया, जिसकी ओर अनेक टीकाकारों कोशकारों एवं अनेक ग्रन्थों ने संकेत दिया।[३]

किसी श्रेष्ठ कर्म के रूपमें अभिचार की स्थापना नहीं हुई, अपि तु कर्म की प्रकृति के अनुसार स्मृतियों में एवं धर्मशास्त्रों में अन्य उपपातकों के साथ-साथ अभिचार को भी एक उपपातक के रूप में चिह्नित किया गया है। मनुस्मृति ने स्पष्टरूप से अभिचार को उपपातक कहा है।[४] इस अवसर पर मेधातिथि आदि व्याख्याकार अभिचार की स्पष्ट व्याख्या करते हैं, जिसका फल शत्रुमरण होता है।[५]

अभिचार जैसा कर्म जिसे उपपातक कहा गया हो, निश्चित ही उसके अनुरूप अनेक विधान स्मृतिकारों ने किए, जिस में दण्डविधान एवं शुद्धिकरण सम्मिलित है। उदाहरण के लिए मनु ने अभिचार करने वालों के प्रति दण्डविधान करते हुए निर्देश दिया है कि यदि उस कर्म में किसी की मृत्यु न हुई हो तो २०० पण आर्थिक दण्ड दिया जाए।[६] इसी प्रकार शुद्धि का विधान करते हुए मनु ने निर्देश दिया है कि अभिचार करने वाला प्रायश्चित्त के रूपमें तीन कृच्छ्र का आचरण करे तो उसकी शुद्धि हो जाती है।[७] ऐसा नहीं है कि इस तरह के विधान स्मृति आदि ग्रन्थों में ही मिलते हैं; अपि तु बीज रूप में इस तरह के विधान श्रौतसूत्रादि ग्रन्थों में भी मिलते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए कात्यायन ने उल्लेख किया है कि अभिचार कर्म में प्रयुक्त होने वाले मन्त्रों के बाद तथा अभिचार क्रिया के पश्चात् अपने को स्पर्श करके हाथ से जल का स्पर्श करे।[८]

कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र में तथा अन्यत्र भी अलग से ऐसे निर्देश प्राप्त होते हैं, जब कि कोई श्रौत क्रिया अभिचार कामना से की जा रही हो। उदाहरण के लिए दर्शपौर्णमास में 'प्रणीताप्रणयन'

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क्रिया यदि अभिचार बुद्धि से की जा रही है तो विधान किया गया है कि इस अवसर पर प्रणीता पात्र काँसे की धातु से निर्मित हो।[९]

अभिचारिक क्रियाएं कब से प्रारम्भ हुई, इसे बतलाना बहुत सरल नहीं है, तथापि असन्दिग्ध रूप से यह अवश्य कहा जा सकता है कि श्रौत क्रियाओं से सम्बन्धित सभी आर्ष ग्रन्थों में अभिचारिक क्रियोओं की सत्ता सिद्ध करने वाले उल्लेख अवश्य मिल जाते हैं, उदाहरण के लिए राजसूय का वर्णन करते समय कात्यायनने एक स्थानपर उल्लेख किया हे कि यदि राजसूय करने वाला यजमान अभिचार करना चाहे तो जिस दिशा में अवस्थित होकर वह यह क्रिया करे, उसी दिशा में जाकर अपामार्ग होम करे।[१०] इस अवसर पर यह भी कहा गया है कि प्रयोग किए गए मन्त्रों में यथास्थान शत्रु के नामका उल्लेख करे।[११]

एक दूसरे स्थानपर एकाहव्या निरूपण करते समय कात्यायन ने निर्देश दिया है कि सन्दंश नामक यज्ञके द्वारा केवल एक राजापर अभिचार करे[१२] तथा वज्र संज्ञक यज्ञके द्वारा जनपद पर अभिचार करे[१३] अथवा इसका उल्टा करे अर्थात् वज्र संज्ञक यज्ञसे केवल एक राजापर तथा सन्दंश नामक यज्ञ से जनपद पर अभिचार करे।[१४] मारण रूपी फल की प्राप्तिके अनन्तर ज्योतिष्टोम का अनुष्ठान करे।[१५]

अभिचार कर्म मारण के अतिरिक्त मोह-उच्चाटन वशीकरणादि षट्कर्मों के रूप में सुव्यवस्थित हुआ तथा उसकी सिद्धि के लिए मन्त्रजप, पुरश्चरण, पूजा अर्चना होम, बलि तथा अन्य और भी दूसरी क्रियाऐं सम्मिलित हुई।

अथर्ववेद के मन्त्रों में अन्य वेदों के मन्त्रों की अपेक्षा अभिचार का वर्णन अपेक्षाकृत अधिक हुआ है ओर यह अभिचार विषय ही अन्य अनेक उपविषयों में विभक्त हुआ। उदाहरणके लिए राक्षसों, अभिचार को एवं शत्रुओं के प्रतिकूल अभिचार (अभिचारिकाणि तथा कृत्या प्रतिकरणानि), स्त्री विषयक अभिचार (स्त्रीकर्माणि), सामञ्जस्य प्राप्त करने एवं सभा में प्रभाव डालने में अभिचार (सामनस्यानि), राज विषयक अभिचार (राजकर्माणि) इत्यादि।[१६]

यद्यपि ऐसा है, तथापि यजुर्वेद सम्बन्धी कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र तथा शतपथब्राह्मण में पूजा-अर्चना, होम, पुरश्चरण की अपेक्षा ऐसा ही उल्लेख मिलता हैं कि यदि अभिचार की इच्छा हो तो जिस मन्त्र का प्रयोग किया जा रहा है, उसी में शत्रु का नामोच्चारण अपेक्षित विभक्तियों का प्रयोग करते हुए, करे।

अपने मन्तव्य की पुष्टि में शतपथब्राह्मण से कुछ उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किए जाते हैं, यथा पुनराधान में अङ्गार पर कपाल को रखते समय मन्त्र[१७] पढा जाता है। इस अवसर पर शतपथ ब्राह्मण

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अभिचार का उल्लेख करते हुए कहता है कि यदि किसी शत्रु का नाश करना चाहे तो भ्रातृव्य के स्थान पर उस शत्रु का नाम षष्ठी विभक्ति लगाकर उच्चारण करे।[१८]

अग्निहोत्र के प्रसंग में वेदि बनाते के समय मन्त्र[१९] का पाठ होता है। इस अवसर पर शतपथब्राह्मण में कहा गया है कि मन्त्र में शत्रु के नाम का उच्चारण करे, जिससे शत्रु का नाश हो जाए।[२०]

स्फ्यसे प्रहार करते समय मन्त्र[२१] पढा जाता है। इस अवसर पर अभिचार के पक्ष में विधान करते हुए शतपथ ब्राह्मण ने कहा है कि 'तमतो मा मौक्' के स्थानपर शत्रु का नाम द्वितीया में लेकर अभिचार किया जाए।[२२]

दर्शपूर्णमास प्रकरण में अध्वर्यु मन्त्र[२३] पढकर स्फ्यको उत्कर में फेंकता है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण विधिका उल्लेख न करके सीधे उसके अभिचार पक्षको उद्धृत करते हुए विधान करता है कि यदि अभिचार करना चाहे तो शत्रुका नाम चतुर्थी विभक्ति लगाकर उच्चारण करे।[२४]

तृतीय सवन में समिष्ट यजु के प्रकरण में प्रोक्षणी के वचे हुए जल को फेंकते समय अध्वर्यु मन्त्र[२५] पढता है। शतपथब्राह्मण में इस अवसर पर कहा गया है कि यदि शत्रु को शाप देना चाहे तो 'यज्ञाद् बहिः' के स्थान पर 'अमुमभिः' निःसृजामि कहे अर्थात् अमुम् के स्थान पर शत्रु के नाम का उल्लेख करे।[२६] इस अभिचार से शत्रु शोक से सन्तप्त होकर परलोक चला जाता है।[२७]

उपांशु और अन्तर्याम ग्रह को रखते समय अभिचार का उल्लेख शतपथब्राह्मण (४.१.१.७) में किया गया है, किन्तु जो मन्त्र[२८] दिया गया है, वह संहिता में प्राप्त नहीं होता। इस मन्त्र की प्राप्ति शतपथब्राह्मण[२९] तथा कात्यायन श्रौत[३०] सूत्र में ही होती है। इस अभिचार का फल बताया गया है कि इससे शत्रु में प्राण नहीं ठहरते। वह मृत्यु को प्राप्त होता है।[३१]

शत्रु बचकर भाग ने न पाए, इसके लिए अभिचार का विधान करते हुए कहा गया है कि शुक्रामन्थि ग्रहहोम के लिए सोम की डाली को बाहु, छाती अथवा कपडे से चिपकाकर मन्त्र[३२] से आहुती दे। इस अवसर पर शत्रु के नाम का उच्चारण किया जाता है।[३३] जिससे शत्रु का नाश हो जाता है। यहां ध्यान देने योग्य विशेष बात यह है कि मन्त्र में स्थित फट् की व्याख्या करते हुए सायण कहता है, जहां अभिचार क्रिया होती है, वहां फट् का प्रयोग होता है इस अवसर पर सायण ने एक उद्धरण[३४] भी प्रस्तुत किया है।[३५] यह उद्धरण इस बात का सूचक है कि सायण के समय अभिचार कर्म विस्तृत रूप से व्यापक हो चुका था।

राजसूय में त्रैधातवीसंज्ञिका उदवसानीयेष्टि की जाती है। इस प्रसंग में कहा गया है कि अरुण के पुत्र आरुणि अर्थात् ऋषि उद्दालक ने अज्ञात शत्रु के पुत्र के ऊपर तथा भद्रसेन नामक राजा

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के ऊपर उस उदवसानीयेष्टि से अभिचार प्रयोग किया। इन्द्र ने भी उसी इष्टि के द्वारा वृत्र का स्थान छीन लिया था।

अतः जो शत्रु के लौटने के मार्ग को अवरुद्ध करना चाहे , उसे अभिचार कर्म में इस इष्टि का प्रयोग करना चाहिए।[३६]

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि श्रौतक्रियाएँ अभिचार रहित नहीं है, उनके मूल स्वरूप का भी दिग्दर्शन प्राप्त होता है तथा अभिचार कर्म की प्राचीनता भी सिद्ध होती है।

विवरणिका

१. आभिमुख्येन शत्रुवधार्थं चारः कार्यकरणम्। (शब्दक. द्रु. पृ. ७२)

२. हिंसाकर्माभिचारः स्यात्। (अमरको. ३.२.१९)

३. अथर्ववेदोक्तमन्त्रयन्त्रादिनिष्पादिते मारणोच्चाटनादिर्हिंसात्मके कर्मणि इति भरतः। मारणादिफलके तान्त्रिकप्रयोगविषये (शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि पृ-३२) मारणादिफलकतान्त्रिकप्रयोगविशेषः। स षड्विधः - मारणं, मोहनं , स्तम्भनं, विद्वेषणं, उच्चाट नं, वशीकरणमिति तन्त्रसारः।

४. सर्वाकरेष्वधीकारो महायन्त्रप्रवर्तनम्।
हिंसौषधीनां स्त्र्याजीनोऽभिचारो मूलकर्म च।। (मनुस्मृति. ११. ६२)

५. अदृष्टेनोपायेन मन्त्रादिशक्त्या मारणमभिचारः (मेधातिथि) अभिचारो वैदिकेन शापादिना मन्त्रप्रयोगेण श्येनादियागेन वा शत्रुमारणम् (मनुस्मृति मेधा ११.६२) वैदिकेन जपहोमादिना शत्रोर्मारणमभिचारः (मनुस्मृ. मेदा. ११. १९६)

६. अभिचारेषु सर्वेषु कर्तव्यो द्विशतो दमः।
मूलकर्मणि चानाप्तै कृत्यासु विविधासु च।। (मनुस्मृ. ९. २९०)

७. व्रात्यानां यजनं कृत्वा परेषामन्त्यकर्म च।
अभिचारमहीनं च त्रिभिः कृच्छ्रैर्व्यपोहति।।(मनुस्मृ. ११. १९६)

८. रौद्रं राक्षसमासुरमाभिचरणिकं मन्त्रमुक्त्वा पित्र्यमात्मानं चालश्योपस्पृशेदप उपस्पृशेदपः (का. श्रौ. सू १. १०. १४)

९. कांस्यवानस्पत्यमार्त्तिकैरभिचारब्रह्मवर्चसप्रतिष्ठाकामा यथासङ्ख्यम् (का. श्रौ. सू २.३.५)

१०. अभिचार्यमाणोऽपि तां दिशं गत्वा (का. श्रौ. सू १५.२.९)

११. अभिचरतो नामादिशेद्धोमस्तुवप्रासनागमनेषु (का. श्रौ. सू १५.२.१०)

१२. एकराजमेव पूर्वेणाभिचरेत्। (का. श्रौ. सू. २२. ११. २९)

१३. जनपदं वज्रेण (का. श्रौ. सू. २२. ११. ३०)

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१४. व्यत्यासं वैनो प्रयुञ्जीत (का. श्रौ. सू. २२. ११. ३१)

१५. शमित्वा स्मृत्वा वा ज्योतिष्टोमेन यजेत शान्त्यर्थेन शान्त्यर्थेन (का. श्रौ. सू. २२. ११. ३२)

१६. अथर्ववेद एवं गोपथब्राह्मण पृष्ठ (११८)

१७. उपदधामि भ्रातृव्यस्य वधाय। (वासं. १. १७)

१८. उपदधामि भ्रातृव्यस्य वधायेति यदि नाभिचरेध्यद्यु अभिचरेदमुष्य वधायेति ब्रूयात् (श. ब्रा. १. २. १. ७)

१९. द्विषतो वधः। (वा. सं. १. २४)

२०. द्विषतो वध इति यदि नाभिचरेद्यद्यु अभिचरेदमुष्य वध इति ब्रूयात् (श. ब्रा. १. २. ४. ७)

२१. योऽस्मात् द्वेष्टि यञ्च वयं द्विठमस्तयतो मा मौक् (वा. सं. १. २५)

२२. श. ब्रा. १. २. ४. १६

२३. द्विषतो वधोऽसि (वा. सं. १.२८७१)

२४. अमुष्मै त्वा वज्रं प्रहरामीति यद्यभिचरेद् (श. ब्रा. १. २. ५. २२)

२५. इदमहं तप्तं वार्वहिर्धा यज्ञान्निः सृजामि (वा. सं. ५. ११)

२६. यद्यु अभिचरेदादिशेदिदमहं तप्तं वारममुभि निःसृजामीति। (श. ब्रा. ३. ५. २.)

२७. तमेतया शुचा विध्यति। स शोचन्नेवामि लोकमेति (श. ब्रा. ३. ५. २. ८)

२८. अमुष्यत्वा प्रापं सादयामि।

२९. श. ब्रा, ४. १४. १७

३०. का. श्रौ. सू. ९. ४. २८

३१. तथा ह तस्मिन्न पुनरस्ति (श. ब्रा. ४. १. १. १७)

३२. देवांशो यस्मै त्वडे तत्सत्यम्। उपरिप्रुता भङ्गेन हतोऽसौ फट् (वा. सं. ७. ३)

३३. श. ब्रा. ४. १. १. २६

३४. वषट्वश्ये षडुच्चाटे फट् द्वेष्ये पौष्टिके स्वधा

३५. श. ब्रासा ४. १. १. २६

३६. श. ब्रा. ५. ५. ५. १४

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22

Political Philosophy of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*

P.V. Narayanan

In India literary works composed through out the past three millennia possess a significant role among the materials utilized to analyse its cultural and historical past. At present, it is a live tendency in the field of cultural studies to read out those works and to make different readings out of them, on the basis of new tools and perspectives.

Kālidāsa owns a prime position in Indian literary tradition. An assessment of the writings of Kālidāsa, from the aforesaid dimension would be very much helpful for a better comprehension of the representative nature of literature. *Raghuvaṁśa* possesses a prominent place among the works of Kālidāsa. *Raghuvaṁśa* being a narrative on the legendary account of the kings of solar dynasty, Kālidāsa's vision and ideas regarding the power of a ruler and state can be gathered from it.

This paper is an attempt to explore and re-assess Kālidāsa's discourses on power and the contradictions between Kālidāsa's sublime concept of kingship and its paradoxes appear in the thematic structure of *Raghuvaṁśa*

Key Words : - Power, hegemony, conflict, expansion, history, invasion.

The state, both the concept and institution, was evolved as a historical inevitability. All the forms and structures that are created to prop up the state do exist and function in accordance with its contemporary ideology. Such ideology itself may be a set of law of hegemony which was constituted ignoring the social realities of its age. As far as India's past is concerned this fact is obvious.

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In India literary works composed through out the past three millennia possess a significant role among the materials utilized to analyse its cultural and historical past. At present, it is a live tendency in the field of cultural studies to read out those works and to make different texts (readings) out of them, on the basis of new tools and perspectives. Accordingly, literature, an important manifestation of culture, is made subject of new interpretation.

Although a literary work often is in all-support of the hegemony it cannot forgot the historicity of its time. So, every writings directly or indirectly may represent the historical condition of the time in which it was written. That is to say, writing of a particular period indispensably would reflect the history of that time, even if the writer wanted to avoid the contemporary affairs. Writings of Kālidāsa's , who owns a prime position in Indian literary tradition, also have to be examined in such a dimension.

When we bid farewell to unreal assumptions and mythical accounts regarding Kālidāsa's , there will be six works to his credit. They are three kāvyas viz. *Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasambhava,* and *Meghadūta* and three nāṭakas viz. *Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśīya* and *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. In this paper, in which the implications of power in Kālidāsa's works are going to be discussed, mainly *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Śākuntala* and incidentally other two nāṭakas also are referred to. Since fixing the time of the works that come in the range of discussion is a historical responsibility, I here accept Kālidāsa's time in between 1st and 4th centuries A. D. The time that becomes the subject of Kālidāsa's writings is even earlier. Almost all the forms of well established social and political systems are seen there vividly. So, it is obvious that, the time Kālidāsa delineates is a much later period after the formation of civilized social order i.e. well established state, private property, family and class.

Kālidāsa's works, as far as their literary merit is concerned, as Aurobindo says, undoubtedly are 'supreme poetic utterance'. It is also indisputable, that they uniquely and forcibly attract their readers' mind. Hence, the question of their relish is kept away from this paper.

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Kālidāsa's vision and ideas regarding the power of a ruler (king) and state can be gathered from *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Śākuntala*. As the writers on *Arthaśāstra* says 'matsyanyāya' (the rule that the 'bigger fish devouring the smaller fish' or 'survival of the powerful') is the primary and basic cause of the evolution of kingship. Kālidāsa acknowledges this as "ऊनं न सत्त्वेष्वधिको बबाधे" (The weak were not fermented by the powerful).

Kālidāsa accepts the conventional notions regarding kingship such as 'राजा कालस्य कारणम्', 'अष्टदिक्पालानामंशधारी' etc. *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Śākuntala* revive a highly noble and lofty concept of kingship. Inheritance was the basic qualification of kingship. Hence in Kālidāsa, we meet even infants (who naturally are not able to realise the things) as rulers of great kingdom. When the king Dhruvasidhi (or Dhruvasiddhi) was unexpectedly killed by a lion during hunting his son Sudarśana was coronated as the successor at the age of only six. (*Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII.36-41). The *Vikramorvaśīya* also proclaims "a king, even in his childhood is endowed with power to protect the earth".

भुवमधिपतिर्बालावस्थोऽप्यलं परिरक्षितुं।
न खलु वयसा जात्यैवायं स्वकार्यसहो भरः।।

The term kingship and 'kṣatriyatva' are often used as synonyms in Kālidāsa also. He expresses the famous idea of Kauṭilya 'प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः' in many ways. But, it can be presumed that the term prajā in Kālidāsa, as in other early Indian works, comprised of only aristocratic upper class people. The procedure of prosecution of the fisherman in *Śākuntala* (the fisherman who incidentally got the royal ring) reminds us of the distinction between 'citizen' and 'subject' of modern social science. Kālidāsa in many occasions, directly and indirectly, advocates that 'the important responsibility of the state is the protection of ascetics and three upper castes (traivarṇikas) especially of brāhmaṇas'. This attitude caused for an ego clash also between brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. Very many references regarding this issue can be noticed in a large number of works of ancient period.

The issue of brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya conflict widely seen in Purāṇa-literature (Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra, Paraśurāma-Dāśarathirāma) comes to a consensus

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in Kālidāsa is significant. He reconstructs the face-to-face meeting of Bhārgavarāma and Dāśarathirāma with a harmonious end. This, however, does not yield any help in changing the existing system, although it may appear to be so. But contrarily, only strengthens it.

In his definition for kṣatriya "क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रं क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढ:" (the term kṣatra firmly routed in this world, as (he) rescues from danger. *Raghuvaṁśa*, 11.53) by the term 'kṣata' (danger) Kālidāsa might have meant the danger that would adversely affect the stability of four fold class-system (varṇavyavasthā). The instances like that of Śambūka in *Rāmāyaṇa* definitely lead one to make such reading. In a social system, where deep-rooted customs, beliefs, rituals and hereditary accounts play decisive role, important duty of a ruler coming to power would naturally be maintaining its status-quo. Kālidāsa's discourses on power are to be approached from this point of view.

In Kālidāsa's vision, the whole power of the state is vested with the king. A reader would come across many contexts of mention about the customary state functionaries in Kālidāsa's works. Whereas no reference to the idea of sharing power (decentralization?) can be noticed in them albeit Arthaśāstra-teachers declare 'rulership can be successfully carried out only with the help of associates' (सहायसाध्यं राजत्वम्). Kings do not even imagine their power or its symbols handed over to other's control. But, 'by providing education, safety and livelihood (fostering) to the subjects, Kālidāsa's kings occupy the position of their father'. The image of father itself represents power. Thus Kālidāsa's vision of power is exposed through his narration of *Raghuvaṁśa* kings.

The concept of kingship manifested through the narration/description of Kālidāsa; in spite of being excellent and ideal, does not determine the way of his writing in all occasions. In the fifth act of *Śākuntala*, through the words of Munis he describes Duṣyanta's capital, a prime symbol of power, as a burning house. (जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव[10], I look up on this court thronged with men, as one encircled by the flames of fire). Gautama

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Buddha, who found power unsubstantial and deserted its path, also had expressed this idea. Kālidāsa, again through Śārṅgarava, addresses the king as 'dasyu' which means robber.

कृताभिमर्शामनुमन्यमानः सुतां त्वया नाम मुनिर्विमान्यः।
मुष्टं प्रतिग्राहयता स्वमर्थं पात्रीकृतो दस्युरिवासि येन।।[११]

... has adjudged you worthy of the gift just as one would a thief by offering him one's stolen property). In the same context the whole kṣatriya tribe is criticized as the people "who study practicing deceit upon others as hereditary art" and he questions the king's authority as infallible speaker (आप्तवाक्). In the *Raghuvaṁśa* also king is stated as a person deceiving others. This sort of abuse on kings, which is capable of shaking the authority of king, can not be seen in any other work of that age.

Contradictions between Kālidāsa's sublime concept of kingship and its paradox appear in the thematic structure of *Raghuvaṁśa*. The story of Agnivarṇa, the last king described in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, is the foremost example of this dialectics. Agnivarṇa, who was subdued by the infatuation of sensual pleasures, stretches his leg towards the window when people/ subjects come to pay salutations. In describing such an act Kālidāsa clearly hints at the decadence inherent in power. Due to the destructive fire lurking with the carnal pleasure and incessant sexual intercourse Agnivarṇa was affected by chronic malady and succumbed to an untimely pitiable death. As he was not having an heir apparent, his ministers hide the matter from people for several days. Afterward, his corpse was cremated in the fire arranged in the royal garden. The fire was prepared in the name of a fake-sacrifice for obtaining an heir. Even then the people were not let to know the news of his death. Later, when the queen was identified as conceiving, the power borne by ministers in the interim period in the name of the glory of the dynasty was entrusted to the child (embryo!) lying in the womb of Agnivarṇa's queen by anointing her.

Here it is worth to be mentioned that when the power from Raghu, who is the personified form of Kālidāsa's perfect concept of king, through many

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others of great repute passes to Agnivarṇa, the decline involved in its nature was neither varnished nor idealised by the poet. For Kālidāsa; making such a deviation in theme would have been easier (as in the case of the curse in *Śākuntala*). But, his intention was to indicate the aspects of implicit decay of power. Along with the enjoyableness of his work he succeeded in projecting this perspective too. This aspect makes his *Raghuvaṁśa* capable of overcoming the status of heraldry or rājavamśāvalīvarṇana. Moreover, if this were not his intention; he would not have finished the work with the description of Agnivarṇa, for some other sources like *Viṣṇupurāṇa* speak of nine more generations of solar dynasty kings after Agnivarṇa.

Although Kālidāsa's affection towards kingship is very strong in his narration a reader would not feel disgust towards king Agnivarṇa despite he made the meaning of the word irrelevant i.e., 'he is rājā who makes subjects happy' (प्रजानां रञ्जनाद्राजा). Besides, this stance of Kālidāsa provides space for commentators to interpret that "the main sentiment in *Raghuvaṁśa* is vīra". Aruṇagirinātha, a Keralite commentator on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, comes at such a conclusion on the basis of some terms seen in the final verse of *Raghuvaṁśa*.

As has been said above, even though Kālidāsa is a poet favourable of existing system; he does not reject the black-side of power. Kālidāsa on one hand reacts and responds to the inhumanity and ruthlessness of power 'through gestures and desires'. On the other hand, he walks together and remains in amity with the illusory facet of power. Thus, in fact, *Raghuvaṁśa* is a synthesis of these sorts of contradictory elements.

In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa describes of 28 kings. Among them the perfection of his concepts of a king he finds in Raghu. The title of the work itself declares this. In it Aja, Daśaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, his son Atithi and the infant king Sudarśana are depicted as great rulers whereas Raghu is portrayed as a great tower of light.

As said earlier, the succession of power was inherited. The nature of the political/state system prevalent during that age was Monarchy. It is

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evident from history that quarrel and turmoil in connection with power was common thing in the past. But nowhere this does become a subject of Kālidāsa. Even in great dynasties; also before Kālidāsa, transmission of power was not comfortable in the case of even great kings. Aśoka's second wife Tiṣyarakṣitā makes Kuṇāla, the son in his first wife Asandhimitrā, blind in order to disqualify him from being coronated. Interestingly, Aśoka's elevation to power also tells us a similar story. We learn there that Bindusāra intended to hand over power not to Aśoka, but to another one of his sons. It was his ministers who helped Aśoka to rise to the post. In later period it was a common practice in the inner apartments of various dynasties.

It is not fair to conclude that Kālidāsa had no knowledge of such dangerous and rebellious princes. Because, himself he states "Princes try to seize the power even through wicked deeds" and "kings having been lost their power, resort to a superior king who is virtuous, as mediator".

Kings of lost glory were used to go out of the kingdom. The stories of Rāma, Yudhiṣṭhira etc. are best illustrations of this. The fourteen or thirteen years limit for exile may be understood as the time required for preparing the next generation. The *Mahābhārata* verse "मर्यादां स्थापयाम्यद्य लोके धर्मे लोदयाम्, आचतुर्दशमाद्वर्षात् न भविष्यति पातकम्" can be taken as a supportive evidence to this fact.

The post of 'yuvarāja' (the prince) may have been an arrangement to observe and alleviate the problem arising with in the court in connection with the power. Preceptors of *Arthaśāstra* like Kauṭilya consider princes as great threat to king's power. In his opinion 'princes devour their begetters, being of the same nature of the crabs'. Kauṭilya recommends manifold means to control and tame the princes. *Bhāgavata* calls kings as 'patricides' and 'matricides' and also murderers of kinsmen and siblings.

मातरं पितरं भ्रातॄन् सर्वांश्च सुहृदस्तथा।
घ्नन्ति ह्यसुतृपो लुब्धाः राजानः प्रायशो भुवि।।

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The act of leaving the kingdom after entrusting power to the son, when he is grown, is to be connected with this matter. Kālidāsa's kings also choose this way. But as far as his kings are concerned transmission of power was a quite natural and straight process. In his own word 'from Dilīpa power transmitted to Raghu like transmitting the beauty of lotus to water-lily at the time of sunset. Elsewhere it is described as 'rājyaśrī looked akin to a bride waiting in anticipation of her fathers consent to receive her beloved'.

Power and War

War, in many respects is an important means of strengthening and expansion of power, and also of the protection of commercial interests of the invader. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, we encounter with more than one occasions of war. They include the series of wars during Raghu's digvijayayātrā (fourth sarga), the war fought by Aja with other kings at the time of Indumatī's svayamvara (seventh sarga) and the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā (twelfth sarga). Except the war series of Raghu in both other occasions the kings are engaged in war with their visible enemies, where as in the wars of Raghu the 'others' are not his foes. Without any provocation and having no adequate reason except the wish to expand the empire he declares them as enemies and overpowers them. Here, Kālidāsa's discourse on war prompts us to think that he is celebrating the war. His utterances and observations are manifested through the vision of an aggressor. This tells us that Kālidāsa's bonds with existing social and political orders were more powerful than his position as a poet/writer. Every invasion is compared with the fulfillment of ardent desire of sexuality. He there, hardly pays his eyes to the grief of the women who have lost their beloved; instead, their condition was metaphorically used to glorify the invaders' valour. He also eulogises the celebrations of Raghu's drunken soldiers and the details of their (drunken) revelry. By taking such a stance Kālidāsa himself becomes confined to the general notion of his time. A modern reader may wish 'had Kālidāsa spoken out a word regarding the meaninglessness and inhumanities of war, it would have made him exalted and distinguished in that respect also'. In other words, one would certainly expect this from Kālidāsa who is

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capable of using his extra-powerful tactile organ to recognise and feel even minute movements, smells and sounds of nature and subtle emotions and feelings of human mind.

It is to be said here that the 'digvijayayātrā' of rulers in India's past, basically was aimed at opening of new traffic routes for trade. It is noteworthy that while describing the advancement of Raghu's army to southern parts of India the important and valuable products of that area also are mentioned often. The southern regions of India were identified as profitable trade routes much before Kālidāsa. Beyond the expansion of territory, the intention of digvijayayātrā was to making of the trade routes accessible, and through that strengthening of power. This observation is supported with the views of Kauṭilya who in his *Arthaśāstra* states 'treasury is the main source of power'. Moreover restoring the conquered regions to their rulers also substantiates this opinion. The fact, that Raghu's army, wherever it invades, proceeds forward only after collecting maximum amount of resource, is also significant. Invasion to gaṇarāṣṭras (Oligarchic states) the set up of which was entirely different from that of the mainstream kingdoms and which are not at all a threat to others' power, is another point that leads us to the above said observation.

Conclusion

Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, being a work dealing with the affairs of kings/ rulers/power upholds the generally predominant notions of the then prevailing society. It may also be said that through the narratives of the kings of solar dynasty, Kālidāsa has been endorsing the glorious concept of an ideal ruler thought of by the people of all time and space. This being the position of the poet *Raghuvaṁśa* does not address its contemporary historical and political realities, but the imaginary conceptions. Thus, even though *Raghuvaṁśa* marks some discernment as regard to power, it seldom presents a deeper vision that may surmount the time. At the same time, the extra-ordinary aesthetic beauty of the work is unquestionable. This may be the distinct aspect that elevates *Raghuvaṁśa* to the terrain of a peerless

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literary creation. A fact to be taken note of here is that as far as a literary work is concerned it is the friction in aesthetical experience level and the philosophical/theoretical implications of the work that enable it to retain a place in the way of contemporary taste. As *Raghuvaṁśa* by some means gratifies this to a considerable extent yet it is viewed as a grand work in literature.

Notes

1. मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजाः मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे । *Arthaśāstra*, I. 13. 5, see also I. 4. 13.
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, II.14.
3. यथा मुनयोऽपि व्याहरन्ति राजा कालस्य कारणमिति । *Vikramorvaśīya*, IV.
   cf. इति ते संशयो मा भूत् राजा कालस्य कारणम् । *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan*, 70.6.
4. *Vikramorvaśīya*, V.8.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, I.19.34.
6. नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनम् यत् स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV.67.
   ...वर्णाश्रमावेक्षणजागरूकः, XIV. 85. cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 3. 4 and 17, also *Manusmṛti*, VI. 35. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* says that the 'fire of procreation' is lurking in between the thighs of Brāhmaṇas and for soothing it kings have to keep their harem opened. see M.P. Sakunni Nair, *Chatravum Cāmaravum*, p.171.
7. *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 53
8. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 7. 9
9. See, *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 24
10. *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, V
11. Ibid., V. 20)
12. ...परातिसन्धानमधीयते यैर्विद्येति ते सन्तु किलाप्तवाचः । *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, V. 25
13. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XII.76
14. गौरवाद्यदपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकाङ्क्षितं ददौ ।
    तद्गवाक्षविवरावलम्बिना केवलेन चरणेन कल्पितम् ।। *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII. 7
15. तैः कृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसङ्ग्रहैराशु तस्य सहधर्मचारिणी ।
    साधुदृष्टशुभगर्भलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियम् ।। Ibid., XIX. 55
16. This idea has been expressed in more than one occasion in *Raghuvaṁśa* itself.
    तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्। *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. १२, राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः, VI. 21
17. *Prakāśikā* commentary by Aruṇagirinātha on the final verse of the last sarga of

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Raghuvaṁśa. Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita, the author of *Padārthadīpikā* commentary also agrees with this observation.

18. See, M.P. Sankunni Nair, *Chatravum Cāmaravum*, Mathrubhumi printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Calicut. 1988, p.179.
19. दुरितैरपि कर्तुमात्मसात् प्रयतन्ते नृपसूनवो हि यत्। *Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII. 2
20. नृपा इवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते । Ibid., XIII. 7
21. कर्कटकसधर्माणो हि जनकभक्षका राजपुत्राः। *Arthaśāstra*, I. 17. 5
22. See Ibid., I. 17.
23. नरेन्द्रमूलायतनादनन्तरं तदास्पदं श्रीर्युवराजसंज्ञितम् ।
अगच्छदंशेन गुणाभिलाषिणी नवावतारं कमलादिवोत्पलम् ।। *Raghuvaṁśa*, III.32.
24. श्रीस्साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकांक्ष।। Ibid., V.38.
25. ...शङ्खवज्रमणिमुक्तासुवर्णपण्याश्च प्रभूततरा दक्षिणापथे ...* *Arthaśāstra*, VII, 12.24.
26. Ibid., I.4.2.

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Aesthetics of Music in Kūṭiyāṭṭam

George S Paul

Music in kūṭiyāṭṭam essentially consists in the vācikābhinaya of the actor and the background music provided by the mizhāvu and other instruments. In vācikābhinaya, varied 'svaras' or 'rāgas' are employed depending on the character, rasa and the occasion. But the word 'svara' or 'rāga' used in the kūṭiyāṭṭam parlance is a misnomer for those used in the classical music.

The *Nāṭyakalpadruma* prescribes 20 such svaras. The Malayalam verse lists them as follows:

muḍḍan śrīkaṇḍhi thoṇḍārtan
indalam muralīndalam
veḷādhūḷi punardānam
vīratarkan ca tarkanum
korakkuriñji pourāḷi
poranīrum tathaiva ca
duḥkhagāndhāravum cetī
pañcamam bhinnapañcamam
śrīkāmaram kaiśikiyum
ghaṭṭantariyumantari
swaraṅgalīvaṇṇam
pattum pattumāyiḍum.

The treatise further lays down specific directions for their use. Muḍḍan, for the śṛṅgāra of the rākṣasas; śṛikanṭhī, for the ślokas during the denouement of each Act; thoṇḍu, while delineating śānta rasa and also bhakti; ārtan, for śṛṅgāra in general; indaḷam, for nāyakas both vīra and

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uttama; muralīndalam, for the sambhoga śṛṅgāra of Srīrāma; Velādhūḷi, for emoting bhaya, arrogance and satire; dānam, for surprise and wonder; Vīratarkan, strictly for vīra rasa; tarkan, for raudra; korakkuriñji, for the monkeys; Pourāḷi, vipralambha śṛṅgāra of Śrīrāma; Puranīr, for describing the dawn, rainy season, sunrise etc; duḥkhagāndhāram, for karuṇa rasa; ceṭīpañcamam, for the adhama characters and children; bhinnapañcamam, vipralambha śṛṅgāra of the rākṣasas; kaiśikī, for hāsya and bībhatsa; ghaṭṭantari, for the *Bharatavākyam* (coda) and antari, for the verses of the poet and narration of the story. In addition to this score of 'svaras', Naṅgiar's akkitta verses are rendered in 'vimala'. For example, the verse like 'sakalasurāsura', 'candanavalli' etc. No specific svara has been insisted for the benedictory verses of the Nambiar.

The esoteric style of recitation is known as 'swrattil cholluka'. They don't have even the farthest relation to the style of rendition in either the Carnatic or the Hindustani music. On the contrary, the style is akin to the Vedic chanting. According to Shri L. S. Rajagopal, the only researcher in this area, "the recitation of ślokas by the cakyars may be assigned a place mid-way between the chanting of the *Ṛgveda* and *Sāmaveda*.

Vedic music: In the evolution of Indian classical music, the Vedic music has a pivotal role. The first two stages of evolution of the primitive music are said to be 1) Pathogenic or Passion-born and 2) Logogenic or word-born. Vedic music is perhaps the first genre quintessential of the Logogenic style when words were first employed in the cadences of swaras. Whereas, the former one of the Pathogenic, were only mere cadences of svaras without words.

Ārcika (one svara), gāthika (two svaras) and sāmika (three svaras) prayogas developed during the Logogenic period. Ārcika is still common during the yāgas. Gāthika can be heard in the Śrī Veṅkateśwara Suprabhāta recital at Tirupati. *Ṛg* is recited in the sāmika where dhaivata also occurs. The three svaras in the recital of *Ṛgveda* are udātta (ṣaḍja), anudātta (lower niṣāda) and svarita (upper ṛṣabha). The fourth one is 'pracaya', the lower dhaivata. But

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during the Sāma Vedic period a full septatonic scale that corresponded to svaras of kharaharapriya in the Carnatic or Kafi in the Hindustani evolved.

As for the styles of recitation of *Sāmaveda*, one is taken aback by their plurality. It is said that 1008 styles were in vogue in the past. But now, only three are discernible: Jaiminīya of the Namboothiris of Kerala, Kauthūma of the Brahmins of Tamil Nadu and Rāṇāyanīya of the upper Karnataka and north.

A demarcating feature of the Vedic chanting is the utmost importance given to music. Mataṅga, author of the *Bṛhaddeśī*, clearly states, "In the singing of the Sāman, music should prevail and not the words". For this, we can see how the words are deformed to suit the demands of music. Let us examine the first two lines in the first *Ṛk* of *Sāmaveda*:

Agna ayāhi vīthaye
Grunano havya dathaye

This is recited as:

Ognāyī ayāhī vāyithāyāyī
Grunano havya dathāyāyī thāyāyī.

The purpose served by the 'stobhas', meaningless sounds pronounced like 'ho', 'hee', 'aah' etc, is to enhance the musical quality of the recitation. "It is surprising that this splitting, dragging, repeating and stopping of the sacred texts was not considered sacrilegious, but on the contrary, was recognized as necessary for music".

But when we come back to the music in kūṭiyāṭṭam, we can see how the words are not dented for the sake of music. There may be prolongation of the vowels; but the words remain intact. This is imperative since the vācika has to be effectively communicated to the prekṣaka. The essence of the aesthetics of kūṭiyāṭṭam music is nothing else.

It may appear that the svaras in kūṭiyāṭṭam music carry the same names used in the Carnatic music. The resemblance of the names of the rāgas

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employed in kūṭiyāṭṭam may lead one to believe that they are the same as those employed in Carnatic music. But the resemblance is only in the names. For example, in *Aśokavanikāṅkam*, Rāvaṇa calls the moon 'himakara' thrice. It is prescribed that the first one should be in ṣaḍja, the second in madhyama and the third, in a raised note. But adherence to these notes is never practiced on the stage. After all, there is not even a single śruti instrument in the background to utter these notes in the correct pitch. But why these names were selected and how, is enough material for research. May be, they were properly used in the remote past.

At the same time, one cannot be myopic to the influence of the indigenous music in the development of kūṭiyāṭṭam music which is obvious in the Akkitta ślokas. Those mentioned before are typical of the folk music that is still in vogue in our land.

As for the role of mizhāvu and the tālas to be used, the *Nāṭyakalpadruma* has laid down definite rules. But there is an exemption: ekatāla could be applied anywhere, depending on the discretion of the drummer. Still, one has to see how the all-pervading beats of the mizhāvu forms a canvas on which the actor paints the characters with his unique abhinaya. It energizes both the actor and the audience and in this respect its role in the music of kūṭiyāṭṭam is unparalleled.

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वर्तमानेऽस्तिरिष्यते

श्रीनिवासः वरखेडी

वर्तमानार्थबोधकः अस्-धातुः अस्य लेखस्य विषयः। पाणिनीयानुशासनदिशा किं वर्तमाने लट् -प्रत्यय एव; आहोस्वित् अन्योऽपि शब्दः तत्र एष्टव्यः? कस्तर्हि सः? किं सः अस्त्यादि सहायकधातुः भवति? नेति चेत्, 'गच्छन्नासीत्', 'गच्छन्नस्ति' इत्यादीनां प्रयोगाणां का गतिः? इति चिन्ता। तत्र पाणिनीयानुशासनदिशा कालत्रयं तद्विशेषाः केवलं लकारेण बोध्यते? उत क्वचित् अनुभवानुरोधेन अधिकं किञ्चित् कल्प्यमिति चिन्ताप्रकारः। तत्रायं विचारः प्रवर्तते।

किं वर्तमानत्वम्?

लकारबोध्यः कालः भूत-भविष्यद्-वर्तमान-भेदेन त्रिविधः। अद्यतनानद्यतनभेदेन भूतोऽपि पुनः द्विविधः। तत्र वर्तमानत्वं नाम किमिति विचार्यते। भूतभविष्यत्-प्रतिद्वन्द्वो वर्तमानः। तत्कालवृत्तित्वं वर्तमानत्वं क्रियायाः। तच्च लटा बोध्यते। तत्र 'वर्तमाने लट्' (३.२.१२३) इति पाणिनीयमनुशासनं विवृण्वतः भाष्यकारस्येमानि वचनानि - "अस्ति वर्तमानः कालः इति। आदित्यगतिवन्नोपलभ्यत"[१] इति। अपि च "न्याय्या त्वेषा वर्तमानकालता। कुतः? 'आरम्भानपवर्गात्'। आरम्भोऽत्रानपवृक्तः इति। एष नाम न्याय्यो वर्तमानः कालः यत्रारम्भोऽनपवृक्तः" इति।[२] तदेव निरूपयन् भूषणकारः "प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तत्वं वर्तमानत्वम्" इत्याह।[३] एतादृशञ्च वर्तमानत्वमापेक्षिकम्। प्रारब्धासमाप्तत्व-बोधनमात्रेण कालविशेषस्याबोधितत्वात्। तादृशकालविशेषश्च उपाधिविशेषेण बोधनीयः। तस्मात् कारणादेव तदनन्तरकालिकैः वैयाकरणैः नैय्यायिकैः भाषातत्त्वविद्भिः "तत्तल्लट्प्रयोगाधिकरण-कालवृत्तित्वम्" इति वर्तमानत्वं न्यरूपि। इत्थञ्च प्रारब्धायाः क्रियायाः अविरामे, 'देवदत्तो गच्छति', 'भुङ्क्ते', 'पचति' इत्यादौ लट्-प्रत्ययस्य तच्छब्दप्रयोगाधिकरणकालः अर्थः। तस्य चाख्यातार्थकृतौ अन्वय इति गदाधरादयो नैय्यायिकाः। धात्वर्थक्रियायामेव तस्यान्वय इति वैयाकरणाः। तथा च 'गच्छति' 'पचती'त्यादौ - "तादृशशब्दप्रयोगाधिकरणकालविशेषवृत्तिपच्यादिक्रियानुकूलकृत्याश्रयः देवदत्तः" इति बोधः वर्णनीयः। शब्दप्रयोगरूपस्य कालोपाधेः उपलक्षणत्वेन व्यावर्तकः सन्नपि सः अर्थः नैव बोधे भासते।

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क्रियायाः वर्तमानत्वमवस्थाविशेषः

अयमत्र विशेषो ज्ञेयः - पचमाने पुरुषे 'पचती'ति, गच्छति पुरुषे 'गच्छती'ति यत्र प्रयोगः, तत्र तस्यां कालविशेषनिष्ठायां क्रियायां प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तत्वरूपः अवस्थाविशेषः अभिमतफलप्राप्तिपर्यन्तः भासते। तदुक्तं भाष्यकारेण -

क्रियाप्रवृत्तौ यो हेतुस्तदर्थं यद्विचेष्टितम्।
तत्समीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जीत गच्छतीत्यविचारयन्।।[४] इति
प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शासितव्या भवन्ती'ति च।

तत्र सन्ति नैकानि उदाहरणानि-

१. आदिनं वृक्षच्छेत्तरि कर्मकरे 'वृक्षं छिनत्ति' इति।
२. मासमभिव्याप्य कृषिकर्मणि उद्यते कृषीवले 'भूमिं कर्षति वपति च बीजानि' इति।
३. वर्षमा अध्ययननिरते विद्यार्थिनि 'चिन्तामणिमयमधीते' इति।
४. आ निवृत्तिं पाठशालायाम् अध्यापयति अध्यापके 'अध्यापयत्ययम्' इति च प्रयोगाः प्रामाणिकानाम्।

तथा च अभिमतफलप्राप्तिपर्यन्तायाः क्रियायाः प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तावस्था तत्र लटा बोध्यत इत्यङ्गीकार्यम्। तत्रैव गदाधराचार्यैः व्युत्पत्तिवादे 'जानाति' इत्यत्र तादृशकालान्वयः धात्वर्थक्रियायामेव स्वीकृतः न तु लडाश्रयत्वे। ज्ञानाद्यसत्वेऽपि तदाश्रयत्वादिसम्बन्धे सति जानाति इति प्रयोगापत्तेः इति तत्र आपत्तिरपि प्रदर्शिता। परन्तु, विचित्रा गतिः लौकिकानां व्यवहारस्य। तदितरत्रापि लट्प्रयोगो दृश्यते। कदाचित् सुप्ते पुरुषे ज्ञानाभावदशायाम् 'अयं मां जानाति' इत्यादिप्रयोगसद्भावेन आश्रयतायामेव कालसम्बन्धस्वीकारः उचितः। अथवा 'ज्ञा'धातोरेव 'अयं तरणं जानाति' इत्यादौ ज्ञानजनितसंस्कारोऽर्थः। तत्रैव कालान्वय इति वा वक्तव्यं भवति। एवमेव हि लौकिकानां प्रयोगः-

१. 'सूर्यः प्रत्यहं उदेति' इति नियतकालिका क्रिया वर्तमाने बोध्यते।
२. 'सर्पः दशति', 'नद्यः स्रवति' इत्यादौ स्वभावविशेषरूपा क्रिया वर्तमाने बोध्यते।
३. यदा 'धूमो दृश्यते तदा वह्निः अनुमीयते' इति कारणाधीना क्रिया।
४. 'पर्वताः तिष्ठन्ति', 'पृथ्वी भ्रमति' इति नित्यक्रिया।

एवमन्येऽपि। तदुक्तं भाष्ये -
नित्यप्रवृत्ते च शासितव्या भवन्ति। 'तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः स्रवन्ति नद्यः' इति।[६] तत्रोत्तररूपेण - इह भूतभविष्यत्-प्रतिद्वन्द्वो वर्तमानकालः इत्युक्तम्। तथा च नित्यप्रवृत्तक्रियायाः भूतभविष्यत्वाद्यभावात् तद्विलक्षणः कालः अविवक्षित एव भवतीति सिद्धान्तः।

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वर्तमानसामीप्येऽपि वर्तमानत्वम्

एवमेव यथा वर्तमाने लट्प्रयोगः तथा तत्सामीप्येऽपि। यथा श्वः 'अयं ग्रामं गच्छति'। एवं भूतेऽपि कथाप्रवचनावसरे वर्तमानप्रत्ययप्रयोगः लोकसिद्धः। तदेवं लट्प्रत्ययः क्वचिद् भविष्यत्प्रतिद्वन्द्वकालवाचकः क्वचिदविवक्षितार्थः क्वचिद् वर्तमाने अर्थात् क्रियायाः प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तौ क्वचिदन्यत्र वर्तमानसामीप्ये इति अर्थविशेषव्यभिचारी दृश्यते।

भूतभविष्यदप्रतिद्वन्द्वि अनुवर्तमानत्वम्

वर्तमानत्वं क्रियायाः अवस्थाविशेषः इत्युक्तम्। स च अवस्थाविशेषः प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तिरूपः। भूते भविष्यति च काले प्रारब्धायाः क्रियायाः अपरिसमाप्तौ या अवस्था साऽपि वर्तमानता। भूतस्य भविष्यतश्च कालस्य अप्रतिद्वन्द्विनी। तथा च प्रयोगाः - रामः अयोध्यां त्यक्त्वा अटवीं गच्छन्नासीत्, आगामिनि वर्षे अहमस्मिन् मासे अमेरिकायां पठन् भविष्यामि इत्यादयः।

प्रयोगाश्च इमे न शिष्टपरिगृहीताः इति केचित्। तत्र वदामः भाषा तावत् नित्यं परिवर्तनशीला। बहोः कालाद्व्यवहारपदवीमापन्नायां संस्कृतभाषायामपि वैचित्र्यमशक्यनिवारणम्। तत्र तावत् जीवनसंस्कृतेश्च प्रभावः निदानम्। सत्येवं किम् अनुष्ठेयं भाषातत्त्वविचारकैः? तादृशप्रयोगाणां साध्वसाधुत्वमीमांसामात्रेण नैव ते शक्यवारणाः। स च वैय्याकरणानामुद्यमः। अस्माकन्तु शाब्दमीमांसकानां सिद्धानां सव्यवहाराणां सम्यगर्थनिरूपणमेव कर्तव्यं लक्ष्यम्। यद्यपि तत्र विचारणीयाः शतशः व्यवहाराः अस्माभिर्लक्षिताः तथापि तेषु कांश्चित् स्वीकृत्यात्र जिज्ञासा प्रस्तूयते।

१. प्राचीनेषु प्रबन्धेषु एतादृशाः प्रयोगाः नैव क्वचिद् दृष्टिपथं गताः।

२. प्रामाणिकानां शास्त्रीयेषु व्यवहारेषु अद्यापि एतादृशप्रयोगाः न दृश्यन्ते।

३. 'वसन् ददर्श', 'भुञ्जानो हसति जल्पति वा पानीयं वा पिबति' इत्यादयः प्रामाणिकानां प्रयोगास्तु क्रियाद्वयस्य लक्ष्यलक्षणभावे, समानकालिकत्वे वा युज्यन्ते। नात्र ते प्रयोगाः प्रमाणत्वेन उपन्यासार्हाः। तस्माद् यत्र वाक्ये विभिन्नक्रियाद्वयबोधनविवक्षायां युज्यतेऽयं प्रयोगः; न तु अस् धातोरेवं प्रयोगः युक्तः।

४. यत्र च विभिन्नकर्त्रोः क्रिययोः कालविशेषसम्बन्धः समानकालिकत्वं वा बोधयितुमिष्टं, तत्र सति सप्तम्याः प्रयोगो विहितः - 'यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् (२.३.३७) इति अनुशासनेन। तस्मात् न युक्तः यदा 'देवदत्तः गच्छन्नासीत् तदा अपशकुनमापतितम्' इत्यादिप्रयोगः। तत्र तु 'देवदत्ते गच्छति सति अपशकुनमापतित'मित्येव साधुः प्रयोगः।

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५. अस्मिन्नर्थे विवक्षिते पञ्चतन्त्रादिषु कथाप्रबन्धेषु लटः 'स्म'योगेन प्रयोगा लक्ष्यन्ते। न पुनः अस् धातुयोगेन शत्रन्तस्य। यथा वसन् आसीदित्यर्थे 'वसति स्म' इति। गच्छन् आसीदित्यर्थे 'गच्छति स्म' इति। तस्मादेते प्रयोगाः संस्कृतभाषायामप्रामाणिकाः एव। अर्वाचीनानां प्रयोगास्तु द्रविडभाषायां 'होगुतिद्दाने', 'होगुतिद्दनु' (कन्नडा) इत्यादीनां, हिन्दीभाषायां 'जा रहा है', 'जा रहा था ' इत्यादीनां आङ्गलभाषायां 'he is going', 'he was going' इत्यादीनां प्रयोगाणां प्रभावेणैव, न तु नैसर्गिकाः। तस्मादेते असाधुत्वाद्वारणीया इति न विचारणार्हाः इति पूर्वः पक्षः। तत्र समाधानमुच्यते।

१. शाब्दबोधविचारपराणां शाब्दमीमांसकानां नायमुद्यमः यत् शब्दप्रयोगस्य साध्वसाधुतायाः चिन्तनम्, अपि तु लोकसिद्धानां प्रयोगाणां शास्त्रीयपद्धत्या अर्थवर्णनमेव। तच्च अपेक्षितम्। अलं साध्वसाधुचिन्तया।

२. यद्यपि प्राचीनप्रबन्धेषु एतादृशाः प्रयोगाः न दृष्टचराः, तथापि विरलाः अपि उपलभ्यन्ते तत्र तत्र महाभाष्येषु-

क) 'भाविकृत्यमासीत्', 'पुत्र जनिष्यमाण आसीत्'[७] इति धातुसम्बन्धप्रत्ययसूत्रभाष्ये।

ख) 'एषोऽस्मि पचन्', 'एषोऽस्मि पचमानः', 'एषोऽस्मि यजमान'[८] इति वर्तमानसामीप्य-सूत्रभाष्ये।

ग) 'गोमान् आसीत्', 'गोमान् भविता'[९] इत्यादि च धातुसम्बन्धसूत्रस्याक्षेपभाष्ये।

ङ) एवमेव हि 'साम गायन्नास्ते' इति वैदिकश्च प्रयोगः।

तस्मादेते प्रामाणिकाः प्रयोगाः अवश्यविचारणीयत्वं भजन्ते।

ध्रुवस्य वनगमनकथाप्रसङ्गे, ध्रुवः वनं गच्छन्नासीत्। मध्ये मार्ग नारदमुनिः समागमत् इति प्रयोगः क्वचित् मया दृष्टः। तत्र आसीदिति न प्रधानक्रियोपस्थापकं पदम्, तथा सत्तायाः अस् धात्वर्थस्य अननुभवात्। कस्तर्हि प्रधानः? गम्-धात्वर्थ एव। तथा च गमनं प्रधानव्यापारः। तत्रैव कारकाणामन्वयात्। अस्-धातुस्तावत् सहायकधातुः (Auxiliary verb) तस्य च यथा उपसर्गाणां धात्वर्थे विशेषबोधकत्वं, तथा कालवृत्तिविशेषक्रियायां विशेषबोधकत्वम्। प्रकृते च व्युत्पत्तिवैचित्र्येण शत्रन्तपदसमभिव्याहृत-अस्-धातोः अनुवर्तमानत्वमर्थः। तच्च स्वकालान्तर्वर्तिकालनिष्ठं यत् क्रियान्तरं तदधिकरणकालव्यापिकाले वृत्तिमत्त्वम्।

'ध्रुवः वनं गच्छन्नासीत्, तदा नारदमहर्षिः समागमत्' इत्यत्र नारदसमागमनरूपा क्रिया स्वकालान्तर्वर्तिकालवृत्तिः। तथाहि स्वं = ध्रुवस्य गमनक्रिया। तत्कालान्तर्वर्तिकालः नारदागमनकालः। तद्वृत्तिः क्रिया = नारदागमनम्। तदधिकरणकालव्यापिकालः ध्रुवगमनकालः।

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तत्कालवृत्तिः = ध्रुवकर्तृका गमनक्रिया। तथा च शब्दप्रयोगकालापेक्षया भूतकालीना नारदागमनापेक्षया अनुवर्तमाना या गमनक्रिया तदनुकूलकृत्याश्रयः ध्रुव इति बोधो वर्णनीयः।

एवमेव अन्यत्र सर्वत्रापि उपपादनमनुसन्धेयम्। 'गच्छन्नस्ति' इत्यत्र तु शब्दप्रयोगातिरिक्तस्य तादृशक्रियान्तरोपाधेः अभावात् कथमुपपत्तिरिति चिन्त्यम्।

तत्र गच्छतीत्येव प्रयोगसम्भवे वर्तमानसामीप्यादावपि'° विहितस्य लटः कदाचित् शब्दप्रयोगसमनियत-क्षणैकवाचकत्वाभावेन तादृशविशेषबोधनतात्पर्येण तथा प्रयोग इति कल्पनीयम्। तत्रापि गम्-धातोरेव मुख्यत्वम्। अस्-धातोः तात्पर्यग्राहकत्वम्। व्युत्पत्तिवैचित्र्येण गम्-धात्वर्थ-तिप्-प्रत्ययार्थयोः अन्वयः निर्वाह्यः।

तदेतत्सर्वं 'होगुतिद्दाने', 'होगुतिद्दनु', 'जा रहा है', 'जा रहा था', 'is going', 'was going' इत्यादावपि अतिदेष्टव्यम्। तत्रापि 'होगु', 'जा', 'go' इत्यादीनां मुख्यत्वम्। 'इरु', 'रहना', 'is' धातूनां सहकारित्वमेव। सर्वमन्यत् पूर्ववत् कल्प्यम्। तदेवम् अनुभवानुरोधेन शब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिवैचित्र्यमङ्गीकृत्य अर्थवर्णनं नैकतन्त्रसिद्धमित्यत्र नास्ति विमतिलेशोऽपि इति सर्वमवदातम्।

शब्दबोध्यः सामान्यतो वर्तमानः कालः चतुर्विधः।

- भूतभविष्यत्-प्रतिद्वन्द्वः
तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः
इत्यादौ नित्यक्रियासु
- शब्दप्रयोगसमकालः
भुङ्क्ते पचति इत्यादौ
सामान्यप्रयोगे
- वर्तमानसामीप्ये
श्वः गच्छति इत्यादौ
- अनुवर्तमानकालः
(भूतादिक्रियान्तरसमकालरूपः)
गच्छन्नासीदित्यादौ
एषः कालः अस्-धात्वर्थः

अत एव वक्ता यत्र क्रियायां शब्दप्रयोगकालीनायां भूतायां वा प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तत्वं बोधयितुमिष्टं, तत्र सामान्यवर्तमानकालबोधकं लट्प्रत्ययं परित्यज्य विलक्षणां रीतिमनुसरति। तथा हि - शब्दप्रयोगकाले क्रियायाः प्रारब्धापरिसमाप्तत्वे 'गच्छन्नस्ति' इति शब्दप्रयोगात् भूतकालीनक्रियाकाले क्रियायाः वर्तमानत्वे विवक्षिते 'गच्छन्नासीत्' इति च प्रयुज्यते। इदमेव आधुनिकभाषाविज्ञाने 'present continuous tense' तथा 'past continuous tense' इत्युच्यते।

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ग्रन्थसूची

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ग्रन्थसमीक्षा

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सृष्टितत्त्वानुचिन्तनम् - एकमध्ययनम्

लक्ष्मण पन्थी :

वेदादारभ्य अधुना पर्यन्तं सृष्टिप्रक्रियाया विषय आध्यात्मिकदृष्ट्या, वैज्ञानिकदृष्ट्या, सामाजिक-दृष्ट्या च बहुविस्तरेणोल्लेखनेनापि रहस्यमिदानीं वरीवर्तते। एकतो विज्ञानेन स्वनूतन-सिद्धान्तोद्भावनेनानेकानि प्रमाणानि प्रदत्तानि, अपरतो वैदिकतत्त्वानुशीलनपरैः स्वचिन्तनमपि प्रस्तुतं तथापि मानवस्य प्रतिभाप्यनन्ता, यत्राहर्निशं समुद्रवीचीवच्चलतस्वभावा विचारा आयान्ति यान्ति च। वेदान्तपरिकल्पना, साङ्ख्यसंरचना, ज्योतिषसिद्धान्तग्रहगणना, पौरोहित्यकर्मविधानानि च मतवैभिन्न्येन विषयेऽस्मिन् विस्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति। यथा मानवस्य विचाराणां नैवान्तस्तथैव सृष्टिचिन्तनस्यापि। चिन्तनानां प्रतिपादनमपि विषयेऽस्मिन् चलत्यनवरतम्। तादृशे कर्मणि संलग्ना जना अधुनापि स्वप्रतिभावैभवम्प्रदर्शयन्ति धरातलेऽस्मिन्। सृष्टितत्त्वानुचिन्तनमपि प्रतिभावैभवस्य श्रीमतः चन्द्रभानुशतपथिमहाभागस्य फलम्। भारतदेशे उत्कलराज्ये कटकनगरेऽयं लब्धजनिः १९४८ तमे वर्षे। भारतीयारक्षिसेवाधिकारिपदाल्लब्धावसरेणानेन न केवलं स्वदेशेऽपितु विदेशेष्वपि श्रीशिरडीसाईबाबा धर्मदर्शनप्रचारकत्वेन स्वेष्टदेवस्य द्विशताधिकमन्दिराणि प्रतिष्ठापितानि। अमुना रचितं *Shri Shirdi Sai Baba and other perfect masters, and Baba- may I answer'* इति पुस्तकद्वयमान्तर्जातिकख्यातिप्राप्तम्। उत्कलसाहित्येऽप्ययं लब्धयशाः साहित्यकारः प्रसिद्धः। अध्यात्मक्षेत्रे चतुर्षु खण्डेषु गुरुभागवतम्, साहित्ये च 'किछि हस किछिटा विद्रुप,' 'एक दशकर रम्यरचना' इत्यादयो ग्रन्था सपद्येवात्मप्रकाशमलभन्त।

'सृष्टितत्त्वानुचिन्तनम्' दशवर्षाणां निरवधिचिन्तनश्रमस्यास्य परिपक्वफलम्। २००१ चिन्तनस्यास्य मूलं बीजं प्रसृतम्, स चायं कर्ता स्वमातृभाषयोत्कलभाषाया चतुर्दशाक्षरीच्छन्दसा पद्यबन्धेन ग्रथितवान् ग्रन्थमेनम् 'गोप्यरु अगोप्य' इति नाम्ना। उत्कलभाषायाश्च संस्कृतनिकटतरतया दार्शनिकधार्मिकाऽऽध्यात्मिकसिद्धान्ताः संस्कृतशब्दैः स्वतः परापतिता भवन्ति। तस्मात्का-रणात् संस्कृतविद्वत्समाजायास्य रहस्यमयस्य ग्रन्थस्य 'सृष्टितत्त्वानुचिन्तनमित्यभिधानेन सुरगिराऽनुष्टुप्च्छन्दसाऽनुवादः कृतो मया। संस्कृतभाषायामनूदितस्य ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनं २० मई २०१० वर्षे भुवनेश्वरस्थविजनप्रकाशनद्वारा कृतमस्ति। ग्रन्थोऽयं हिन्दुदर्शन-धर्म-प्रतीक-साङ्ख्यादीनां मूलसिद्धान्तान् गवेषयति। 'विदन्त्येव विज्ञा यत् आवेदेभ्यः प्रसृतेऽस्माकं शास्त्रसम्प्रदाये चिन्तनपरम्परायां च वैज्ञानिकविषया बहुविधा विमृष्टाः, परन्तु तत्रापि सृष्टिविद्यां, मनस्तत्त्वं

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चेतनायाः स्वरूपं चाधिकृत्य यादृशं तत्त्वाभिनिवेशसमन्वितं मर्मस्पृग् विवेचनं देशेऽस्मिन् वरीवर्त्यत, तादृशमन्यदेशपरम्परासु कदाचिन्न स्यात्। अस्मिंश्च ग्रन्थे प्रबन्धकर्त्रा सकलः स सृष्टिविद्याविषयकविमर्शः स्वसंविदालोके साक्षात्कृत्य पुनर्नवीकृतः। अत एवात्र प्रकटीकृता विचारा वेदानामुपनिषदां च तत्त्वदर्शिनामृषीणाम् अभिव्यक्तीरनुहरन्तीति स्वाभाविकमेव। अथ चात्र ग्रन्थकर्त्रा स्वसंविदा यत्किमपि प्रत्यक्षीकृतं तत् पुरातनैरनचानैर्दृष्टपूर्वमप्यपूर्वतां प्रकट यति' एवं भणन्ति ग्रन्थस्य समाशंसायामस्य राधावल्लभत्रिपाठिमहोदयाः। तत्रैव च 'मूल प्रमाणाः सश्रद्धं गुरुपदतले' इत्यत्र हरेकृष्णशतपथिमहोदयानां वचनम् - 'अयमभिनवः प्रयासो विहितः, येन सृष्टिकर्तृविषयकाणां रहस्यंमयतत्त्वाना-मनायासेन साधारणजनानां बोधः भविता। पुस्तके बहूनां विषयाणां सन्निवेशनमतीव सुचारुरूपेण विधिबद्धतया विहितम्। इदमपि पुस्तकमेकः अभिनवः 'विश्वज्ञानकोषः' इति कथयितुं शक्यते, अतः अस्य रचयिता चन्द्रभानुशतपथी विश्वज्ञानभण्डारस्याधारः' इति। 'स्वात्मवाक्' स्थले वाचस्पति उपाध्यायोऽपि एवम्भूतान् विचारान् प्रस्तौति। तथैव च डा. सुधारानी पाण्डे महोदयापि। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् सन्ति आहत्य चतुस्त्रिंशदध्यायाः। 'ग्रन्थकारेण सृष्टिचक्रं नभो भूमिपातालेति त्रिलोकस्थमुररीकृत्य विशेषत ऊर्ध्वलोकस्य नभोमण्डलस्य च सर्जनक्रमे परस्परसापेक्षत्वं सम्बद्धत्वं चोपदर्शितम्। तत्र कारणं समगमाकाशमण्डलं वायुव्याप्तं ग्रहनक्षत्रादि समाश्लिष्टं शब्दगुणकम्, अथ चेदं भूमिमण्डलं नभोविकिरितनैकतत्त्वसमाहारवृत्तं चेति। संसारे सृष्टिचक्रे नैकतत्त्वानामव-श्यम्भाविकता वर्तते। तेषां तत्त्वानां केन रूपेण कया च मात्रया परस्परमन्वितिरिति हृद्बोध्यं वैज्ञानिकचिन्तनमत्र प्रस्तुतमस्ति। विश्वसृष्टौ शून्यब्रह्म-हिरण्यगर्भादितत्त्वाकाश-गङ्गादित्यतत्त्व-गणपतितत्त्व-कलातत्त्व-रूद्रतत्त्व-प्राणतत्त्व-स्वरतत्त्व-महातत्त्व-महाशक्ति-नादतत्त्वा-गरुतत्त्वऽवतारतत्त्वादीनां यथायोगं माहात्म्यं वर्तत एव। संसाररचनापर्याये यावन्तः शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते सर्वे ते तावत् प्रतीकभूताः। तेषाञ्च तथात्वेन कथनेऽस्ति किमपि महत्कारणमिति प्रायेण सर्वेष्वध्यायेषु तत्तत्पदानां प्रातीक्यं संसूचितमस्ति। अथ च शिवसूर्यनारायणादीनां देवानां स्वरूपव्याख्यायां तत्तन्निमित्तकं प्रातीक्यं प्रस्तुवन्ति सूक्ष्मदर्शिनः शतपथिमहोदयाः एति मयैव पुस्तके प्रस्तावनायां निगदितपूर्वम्।

ग्रन्थोऽयं समाहारो दर्शन-विज्ञान-ज्योतिषसिद्धान्तानाम्। अतोऽध्येतारोऽस्य दार्शनिकाः, वैज्ञानिकाः, ज्योतिर्विदश्च स्वस्वाध्ययनकाले स्वस्वग्रन्थप्रतिपादितसिद्धान्तानां सादृश्यं, क्वचिच्च प्रतिपादनशैलीनवत्वे परिदृष्टेऽपि साम्यं गोचरीकर्तुमर्हन्ति। प्रत्यध्यायं चान्ते सर्वकारणकारणस्य गुरुरूपस्य भगवतः प्रार्थनायाचनाया प्रार्थनायाः स्तुतिरूपत्वात्, स्तुतेश्च भगवद्विषयकरत्युपाधिकत्वाच्च साहित्यरसिका अप्यत्रात्मानमुन्मुखीकर्तुमर्हन्ति भावध्वनिप्रधानकवितासु। अस्ति सर्वकारणकारणं सर्वप्राणिगुहाशयश्चादृष्टो भगवान् यः किल निर्मलहृन्मकुरे आलोक इवानुभवैकवेद्यस्तस्यैव दार्शनिकेन, वैज्ञानिकेन, ज्योतिषीयेन वा प्रतिपाद्येन समग्रमिदं जगद् विविधतत्त्वसंवलितं विकारभूतमित्याशयोऽयं शतपथिवर्याणां प्रतिपादनाद् ध्वन्यते एत्यपि मे मतिः।

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चतुस्त्रिंशदध्यायेषु प्रथमेऽनन्तपुरुषस्योत्पत्तिसमये नैव कस्याप्यस्तित्वमासीत्तस्मात्तत्र तस्य महिम्नः वर्णनमकारि ग्रन्थकारेण। हिरण्यगर्भनाम्नि द्वितीयेऽध्याये विश्वोत्पत्तिः शेषनाथादिवर्णनं कृत्वा विराट्पुरुषादेव समग्रचराचरस्योत्पत्तिं, दर्शयतान्ते विराट्पुरुषस्य प्रार्थनाऽपि लिखिता। शून्यब्रह्मतत्त्वनाम्नि तृतीयेऽध्याये साधनामार्गः, ज्ञानमार्गश्च वर्णितो, चतुर्थेऽध्याये विश्वमहायज्ञाख्ये विश्वयज्ञः, वैश्वानरः विश्वयज्ञः, प्रार्थना च वर्तन्ते।

एवमप्यपरेष्वध्यायेषु मुख्यतः आदितत्त्वम्, आकाशगङ्गा, प्रलयतत्त्वम्, सूत्रधारः, नवसृष्टिः, पञ्चकृत्यम्, आदित्यतत्त्वं, गणपतितत्त्वं, कलातत्त्वं, रुद्रतत्त्वं, सप्तकिरणात्मकं जगत्, सप्तात्मकं जगत्, प्राणतत्वम्, अखण्डमण्डलाकाररूपम्, स्वरतत्त्वम्, महातत्त्वम् इत्यादि विषया उपबिन्दुभिः सह सप्रमाणं वर्णिताः। आहत्य अस्मिन् पुस्तके २४०० श्लोका अनुष्टुप्च्छन्दसा निबद्धाः तांस्तान् विषयान् प्रतिपाद्य वर्तन्ते। ग्रन्थोऽयमतिविस्तृतो नास्ति तथापि विषयसामग्रीबलेन विश्वरचनायाः कोषः, दार्शनिकचिन्तनस्य मूलं, धर्मशास्त्रस्य समीक्षा, ज्योतिषशास्त्रस्य मौलिकचिन्तनम्, आध्यात्मिकज्ञानस्याकरश्च दृश्यते। मानवे नूतनचिन्तनस्य कथं प्रतिभा जागरिता भवति तस्य प्रमाणमयं ग्रन्थः प्रस्तौति। यद्यपि साङ्ख्यशास्त्रे प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्विवेचनमस्ति तथाप्यस्मिन् ग्रन्थे हिरण्यगर्भाद् विराटपुरुषोऽसङ्ख्यविश्वचक्रस्य कथमाधारोऽभूत्, तस्माच्च प्रकाशसंज्ञकस्य तेजस उत्पत्तिरतिविशिष्टं चित्रणमिह प्रत्यक्षमिव वर्तते। ज्योतिर्लिङ्गस्य नाभेरुत्थितेन शब्देन चादिमायाः सृष्टिलीलाया वर्णनमप्यद्भुतम्। विश्वस्यास्याखिलस्य सर्वाणि तत्त्वानि कालपुरुषस्य प्रतीकेण वर्णितानि। यथा धरातले रजो विद्यमानं तथैव गणनातीतं ब्रह्माण्डस्योपरि ब्रह्माण्डम्। सर्वा आद्याः शक्तिकणिकाः शून्ये तमस आकर्षणेन परस्परं धावन्ति। आकाशगङ्गायामसंख्या तादृशास्तारकाः स्वशक्त्यनुसारतो ज्वलन्ति विचरन्ति च। यदा नक्षत्रस्य गर्भे विस्फोटः सञ्जायते तदाऽन्यग्रहोपग्रहोत्पत्तिः। ग्रहोपग्रहा यदा तुल्यरूपेण तिष्ठन्ति तदा ते निजां तनुं धारयन्ति। तत्रादौ धरायां जलचरा ततो वायुः, तस्माच्च मानवाः। सर्वं जगत्सम्प्रसाय भगवान् शेते तस्येश्वरस्य शक्तिद्वयं, तत्र बहिरङ्गया जगतः सृष्टिः, अन्तरङ्गया तु शयनम्। बहिरङ्गा शक्तिश्छन्दस्तालयैः सार्धं सृष्टेर्लीलां करोति। आदौ शक्तिः चेतनारूपेण प्रकटिता भवति तस्याः च विश्वमिदं सूक्ष्मं स्थूलं च जायते। सैषा महामायाया अर्थात् बिन्दोर्विश्रान्तिः कथ्यते। तस्मिन् बिन्दावेव विश्वस्य गुणमयस्य लयो भवति एवमस्मिन् विश्वे सर्वेऽपि प्रलयाधीनाः तस्य प्रलयस्य क्रमेण खण्डप्रलयः महाप्रलयः परमप्रलयश्च भेदाः सम्भवन्ति। ब्रह्मणो दिवसात् परं रात्रिकालस्य समागमो भवति। ब्रह्मणः प्रलयात् पश्चाद्विष्णोः प्रलयस्तस्माच्छिवस्य। ईश्वरस्य नियमः कदापि भग्नो नैव जायते। न कालस्य निर्झरिणी गती रुध्यते। आदिमूलहिरण्याण्डविस्फोटनात् परं समग्राकाशमण्डले प्रजापतेस्तत्त्वं व्याप्नोति। शरीर-मानस-स्नायु-विज्ञान-भक्ति-कर्मसु मूल-शक्तिस्वरूपेण प्राणतत्त्वमेवास्ति। यथा सूर्यशक्तिरङ्गा नूतनं स्वरं सृजन्ति तथैव मेदिनी दिवाकरप्रदक्षिणां कुरुते, तथापि प्रदक्षिणया तीव्रवेगेन स्वरस्योत्पत्तिर्भवति यस्य प्रभावः पृथिव्यां निश्चितरूपेण पतति।

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एवमत्र न केवलं सृष्टिप्रक्रियानिरूपणमपितु सृष्टिकर्तुरपि वर्णनं विद्यते। ग्रन्थोऽयं सर्वेषां विषयाणामुत्पत्तिनिर्णायको यत्र ग्रन्थकारेण स्वाध्यात्मिकं चिन्तनमात्मसात्कृत्य समेषां सम्मुखं समुपस्थापितम्। प्राचीनहिन्दुभिः सहस्रवर्षेभ्यः पूर्वं गवेषणानुकूलो नैकतत्त्वसमवायो दिव्यशक्त्या सन्दष्टः। नैकाः प्राकृतिकशक्तयः, याश्च महाकाशवैज्ञानिकपद्धतयश्चाविष्कृताः ताः प्रतीकरूपेण देवानामभिरूपकल्पिताः। ताश्च प्रतीकप्रकल्पिताः विज्ञानं स्पष्टमेवानुगच्छन्ति। सामान्यजनानामपि विस्तृतबोधाय गवेषणपूर्वकं तानि तानि तत्त्वानीह सप्रमाणं सन्निवेशयितुं प्रवृत्तश्चन्द्रभानुशतपथीति शम्।

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'भारतवर्षम्' इत्याख्यस्यानूदितकाव्यग्रन्थस्य समीक्षणम्'

नवीनजसोला

संस्कृतसाहित्ये प्राचीनार्वाचीनकाव्यानामेका सुदीर्घा परम्परा वर्तते। आधुनिककाव्यधारा साम्प्रतमपि प्रवहमाना विद्यते। आधुनिककाव्यकर्तृषु नैके सुयोग्याः कवयः सन्ति, ये सुकाव्यानि विरच्य समाजस्वरूपप्रदर्शनं कुर्वन्ति। काव्यविधायां गद्यकाव्यापेक्षया पद्यकाव्यानां रचना समधिका भवति। पद्यकाव्येषु महाकाव्य-खण्डकाव्य-गीतिकाव्यादीनां विशिष्य कृतयः संरच्यन्ते। पद्यकाव्येष्वेव मुक्तककाव्यमित्यर्वाचीनप्रभेदस्य ग्रन्था अपि समुपलभ्यन्ते। आधुनिककाव्यजगति नैकासु भाषासु काव्यानि विरच्यन्ते। तत्र यथा हिन्दी-संस्कृत-आङ्गल-तमिल-मलयालं-कन्नड-तेलगू-उत्कलेत्यादीनां भाषाणां बहूनि काव्यानि सन्ति। प्रत्येकस्याः भाषायाः स्वकीयं साहित्यमस्ति। वस्तुतः भारतीयभाषाणां मूलं संस्कृतभाषैवेति सर्वैः समाद्रियते।

वेदेषु काव्यकर्ता प्रजापतिसमः कल्पितः। स यथा पश्यति, विचारयति तथैव स्वकीयमनोभावान् समाजपुरस्सरं कविशिक्षामाध्यमेन मुखरीकरोति। प्रोक्तमपि वर्त्तते यत्-

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव प्रजापतिः।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते।।

अधुना लोकप्रियसाहित्यग्रन्थेषु अनूर्दितग्रन्थानामपि महत्त्वपूर्णं स्थानं विद्यते। भाषासाहित्यग्रन्थेषु संस्कृतभाषायामनूदितग्रन्थाः बहवः सन्ति। 'भारतवर्षमिति' मुक्तककाव्यं डां. सीताकान्तमहापात्र-महोदयेन प्रणीतं नूतनं काव्यम्। इदमुत्कलभाषायां निबद्धं वर्त्तते। ये भावाः उत्कलभाषायामत्र सन्निहिताः, तानेव भावान् देववाण्यामनूद्य काव्यमिदमुत्कलेतरभाषाविज्ञानां कृते बोधगम्यं कारितमनुवादकेन।

भाषाद्वयसंवलितस्यास्य काव्यग्रन्थस्य कविपरिचयः

भारतुवर्षमिति काव्यस्य कविद्वयं वर्त्तते। काव्यमिदं डाँ. सीताकान्तमहापात्रमहोदयेन विरचितम्। आधुनिकोत्कलकाव्यसाहित्ये कविरयम् अत्यन्तः सुदक्षः। अस्य जन्म १९३७ तमे वर्षे उत्कलप्रदेशे समभवत्। भारतेऽध्ययनं विधाय विदेशेऽपि अनेन महोदयेन अध्ययनं विहितम्। अध्ययनात्परं नैके पदभारा अपि निर्व्यूढाः। विदेशे 'यूनेस्का' इति संस्थायामपि सेवा कृता। सेवानिवृत्तेः परं नैकानां

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संस्थानामध्यक्षपदमलङ्कृतम्। तथा अद्यावधि उत्कलभाषायां पञ्चदशाधिककाव्यप्रबन्धाः, निबन्धानां षड् संग्रहाश्च प्रकाशिताः। अस्य कृतयः विविधभारतीयभाषासु अनूदिता एव, अपि च भारतीयेतरभाषास्वपि नैका रचना अप्यनूदिताः। अस्यानूदितकृतिषु 'समय का शेष नाम', 'लौट आने समय', 'तीस कविता वर्ष', 'अनेकशरत्,' 'पदचिह्न', 'शब्द समय और संस्कृति', कपटपासा इत्यादयः सन्ति। इमाः सर्वाः कृतयः भारतीयज्ञानपीठात् प्रकाशिताः। विविधपुरस्कारश्चानेन विदुषा प्राप्ताः। अयं पद्मविभूषण-साहित्य-अकादमी-सरलापुरस्कार-सोवियतलैंड-नेहरुपुर-स्कारैः समलङ्कृतः।

उत्कलभाषा संवलितस्य काव्यग्रन्थस्य संस्कृतभाषानुवादः डॉ. भागीरथिनन्दमहोदयैः विहितः। साहित्यशास्त्रनिष्णातः कविरयं वर्त्तते। अनेन सुकविनाऽपि विविधकाव्यग्रन्थानां रचना कृता। तथा च विविधभारतीयभाषासु, विलिखिताः काव्यग्रन्थाः संस्कृतभाषायामनूदिताः। लिखितेषु ग्रन्थेषु 'साहित्यरत्नाकरमीमांसेति काव्यशास्त्रीयः ग्रन्थः वर्तते। संस्कृतेऽनूदितकाव्यग्रन्थाश्च याज्ञसेनी' (संस्कृतोपन्यासः), सृष्टितत्त्वचिन्तनम् (दार्शनिकग्रन्थः) इत्यादयः विशिष्टग्रन्थाः सन्ति। पाठ्यक्रमोपयोगी ग्रन्थानामपि सम्पादनमनेन कृतं वर्त्तते। तथा बहवः शोधलेखाः, कविताः, कथादयः च प्रकाशिताः।

साम्प्रतं भारतीयभाषासु लिखितानां काव्यग्रन्थानां संस्कृतानुवादः कश्चन नूतनः प्रकल्पः। अनेन भाषान्तरानूदितकाव्यसाहित्यग्रन्थानां विकासोऽपि जायमानः वर्त्तते अनूदितकाव्येषु 'भारतवर्षमिति' नूतनकाव्यमिदम्। अनुवादकेन काव्यमिदं संस्कृतेऽनूद्य चारुतरं कृतम्। भाषाद्वयसंवलितेऽस्मिन् नवसर्गाः सन्ति। प्रकाशनं चाऽस्य राष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थाननवदेहलीतः जातम्। नवसर्गेषु सकलभारतवर्षस्य ऋषिकालात् साम्प्रतिककालं यावत् हासविकासदशा सम्यक् समुपस्थापिताः। कविः हृदिस्थभावान् स्वप्नमिव स्वीकृत्य काव्यमाध्यमेन प्रस्तौति। काव्यस्यास्य प्रयोजनं तु समाजिकानन्द-स्यावाप्तिरेव। कविः प्रथमे सर्गे काव्यग्रन्थमर्यादामनुसृत्य मङ्गलपद्यं प्रस्तौति। तद्यथा-

उपदिदेश माता-

भूमेरस्या निखिलमेव पवित्रमस्य्यम्।
प्रत्येकं देवदारुपत्रम्, प्रत्येकं सिकताप्रान्तरोपकूलम्
घनारण्यस्य सकलाकुञ्झटिका
सर्वाऽधित्यका, गञ्जन्तः समस्ताः पतङ्गाश्च।
देवोपमाः स्मृता किलास्मज्जनानाम्।

मङ्गलपद्यं विधाय कविः प्रत्येकमस्मिन् सर्गे स्वस्वप्नतन्त्रं प्रकटीकरोति। अत्र ये ये भावाः कविना समभिहिताः, ते भावाः एवानुवादकेन देववाण्यां समलङ्कृताः। संस्कृतानुवादकोऽत्र सरससावलीलप्रसादमयीभाषायां भारतवर्षस्य काव्यमयं चित्रं प्रस्तौति। अतीतवर्त्तमानयोः कालव्यतिक्रमं सम्यगेव प्रकटीकरोति। यथा प्रथमे सर्गे-

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नहि देशो वस्तु भूगोलेतिहासयोः,
न भूतत्त्वस्य पुरातत्त्वस्य वा।
न च परम्परा कालक्रमागता
नापि हिमांशुकावृत्तं शृङ्गं
नहि गुहा ध्यानमग्नमुनीनां

न वा सूफीसङ्गीतोपासितो
नमाजनिमज्जितपूतात्मा
बालुका-मरीचिकावृता न मरुभूमिः।
सोऽपि नैव महानदी, गोदावरी, सिन्धुः कावेरी वा।।

कविरत्र दृष्टस्वप्नस्योल्लेखालङ्कारमाध्यमेन भारतवर्षस्य भौगोलिकम् ऐतिहासिकं चित्रणञ्च प्रस्तौति। क्वचिदत्र महाकाव्यमिव शैलवनसरिदादीनां वर्णनमपि दृश्यते। तृतीयसर्गस्य 'रासलीलेति' शीर्षकान्वितस्य पद्यपुष्पाणि तु रससिक्तानि सन्ति। तानि सर्वाणि सद्यः एव पाठकानां मनांस्यावर्जयन्ति। यथा रमणीयपद्यमिदम् -

सह गोपीभिर्वनमाली मिलितो यमुनापुलिने।
शारदचन्द्रज्योत्स्नादीप्ता निर्मला बालुका शोभिता।।
अन्यच्चानूदितपद्यमिदम्-
कथय चन्द्र! कस्यापि प्रेमप्रतीक्षायां
लताकुञ्जविताने, यमुनाकूले,
अर्धभग्नतृणगृहवरण्डके,
अथवा रूग्णनगरस्य भवनच्छत्रपार्श्वे
त्वां निरीक्ष्य प्रमाणीकृत्य च
बलिकायास्तस्या मर्मकथा न सन्तरिष्यति।
आर्द्रीकृतनिष्कलङ्कमलनयनयोः।।

अस्मिन् सर्गे कविः चन्द्रमस प्रश्नान् पृष्ट्वा समाजस्थितां साम्प्रतिकीं विभीषिकामपि कथयति यथा-

वद चन्द्र! क्व गतास्ते रासलीला-कदम्ब-वंशीस्वनाः अर्धमृत-श्वासरुद्धयमुनापुलिने
क्व गताश्च पातालभूत-देव विमानकुमारपूर्णिमालोकगीतसम्मोहकस्वराः।
अद्य किन्तु दृश्यन्ते तवैव किरणे मन्दिरप्राङ्गणे पिबन्तो युवानां देशजमदिरां
हत्याधर्षणादियोजनाभिलिप्ताः
तैश्च सह धृतप्रावृतो लज्जाहीनो मन्दिरपूजकः।।

अत्र हि कवेः भावानुवादकौशलं स्पष्टमेव प्रतीयते।

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चतुर्थे सर्गे देवीपूजा इत्यत्र भगवत्याः विविधश्लोकाः अनूदितास्सन्ति। प्रत्येकस्मिन् पद्ये नावीन्यं दृश्यते। अनुवादकाले कविना सर्वत्र साहित्यिकतत्त्वान्यपि प्रदर्शितानि यथा क्वचिदलङ्कारसौन्दर्यं क्वचिद्रसभावसौन्दर्यं क्वचिच्च रूपक-अन्योक्तिः इत्यादीनामलङ्काराणां प्रयोगस्तु श्लाघनीयो वर्त्तते। अनुप्रासस्योदाहरणं प्रथमे सर्गे यथा हि-

अतिदीर्घे दृष्टपूर्वे स्वप्ने च चिरविधुरमधुरीमधुरस्वर इव।।

इत्यत्र द्वितीयपङ्क्तौ अनुप्रासः स्पष्टमेव प्रतीयते। तथा महाकवि-कालिदासमिव प्रकृतिसम्बद्धोपमाऽपि क्वचित् द्रष्टुं शक्यते। तद्यथा-

अथ च सान्त्वयति क्वापि छायेव, निकटे तिष्ठति
प्रतिशृणोति च, मुद्रास्ता अर्थभारैरवनताः।
फलिनः पादपा इवानम्रा वर्षणोद्यताः पयोदा इव।।

अत्रानुवादकस्य अनुवादकौशलेन सह साहित्यिककौशलमपि मनागेव प्रकटीभवति। कविरयं न केवलं अलङ्काराणामेव प्रयोगे निष्णातोऽपि तु रसरीतिगुणादीनां काव्यतत्त्वानां तथैव दाक्ष्यं धत्ते। अस्य काव्यस्य संस्कृतानुवादकस्यानुवादकौशलं पञ्चमसर्गस्थितायां 'अपरेऽपि ये नचिकेतसः' इत्याख्यायां कवितायां सर्वातिशायिरूपेण दृग्गोचरीभवति। अनुवादकोऽत्र नचिकेतामाध्यमेन आधुनिकसमाजं प्रति व्यङ्ग्यं कुर्वन् स्वकीयान् करुणमयान् भावान् मुखरीकरोति तद्यथा-

पुनरपि नचिकेता क्षुधातुरोदरः
पञ्चतारकाविश्रामलयस्य पृष्ठत आवर्जनादमन्विषति।
नष्टपलास्तिकपुटकानि उच्छिष्टपलान्नम्।
अर्थचर्वितान् कुक्कुटांसस्फिकचरणान्।।

कवितायामस्यामनुवादकेन वास्तविकानुवादः विहितः। एवमेवोत्कलभाषायां लिखितमस्य पद्यस्यानुवादः दृश्यताम् -

ता छडा कि अद्भूत प्रश्न सिए? जीवन-मरण
सबुकाले विधिदत्त। जीवनर अर्थ
आउ जीवन ओ मरण रहस्य

अस्य देववाण्यामनुवादः यथा-
अपि च कियानद्भुतः स प्रश्नः
जीवनं मरणं च सर्वदैव विधिदत्ते
जीवनस्यार्थः, जीवन-मरणरहस्यं च

अत्र कविः जन्ममृत्युसिद्धान्तं सम्यगेवानूद्य काव्यस्य सारभूतं वर्णनं प्रस्तौतीति।

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अनूदितगद्यकाव्यपरम्परायां याज्ञसेनी

अनिलकुमारः

काव्यरचनाया अनेका विधास्तासु च गद्यकाव्यरचना कवित्वपदस्य पराकाष्ठा, यतोहि 'गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति' इति। सर्वेषां काव्यानां च भवति किमप्युपजीव्यम्, उपजीव्यरूपेण प्रसिद्धानि रामायणमहाभारतश्रीमद्भागवतादीनि। एतान्याधारीकृत्य प्रायशः सर्वासु भाषासु काव्यग्रन्थाः काव्यविद्भिः रचिताः। भाषाविभाषानियमात्काव्यमिति धिया एकस्यां भाषायां निबद्धानि काव्यानि अन्यासु भाषासु प्रचाराय सततमनूद्यन्ते विद्वद्भिर्येन चैतानि काव्यानि भाषाविनिमयेन प्रशंसितानि। अनेन न केवलं स्वविचाराणामपितु कल्पनाकौशलस्यापि विकासो भवति। एकस्याः भाषाया अपरस्यां भाषायामनुवादकार्यं नैव सरलम्। वस्तुतस्तु अनुवाददशायां मूलरचनायाः सम्पूर्णभावाभिव्यक्तिः कथाप्रबन्धः उद्देश्यञ्च यथावत् समावेशितानि स्युः। अनूद्यमानादितकाव्ययोः समकालिकपरिवेशस्य सङ्गतिः, अनूदितानद्यमानयोर्निकटतमसम्बन्धेन सह बोधगम्यश्च भाषाप्रवाहो आदर्शानुवादस्य लक्षणम्। यथोक्तम् - *Translating consist in producing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the message of source language, first in the meaning and secondly in style? (Nida, Language Structure and Translation, p.33)* इति। अनुवादो न केवलं भाषान्तरं यस्मिन् शब्दानां साम्यसंयोजनमात्रमेव स्यात्तथाभूतस्तु शब्दानुवादमात्रम्, अनुवादकस्तु सर्जकोऽपरः, परञ्च मूलस्य रक्षैवमपि न भवेद्यदनुवादमात्रं तत्प्रतीयेत। अनुवादस्तादृशो दर्पणविशेषो यत्र मूलकृतिः प्रतिबिम्बिता भवति। अनुवादस्येदं लक्ष्यम्भवेद्यन्मूलकृतेरनुवादो भावगतसौन्दर्येण सह पाठकानामन्तरानुभूतिप्रभावश्चोत्पद्येत। आदर्शानुवादकस्य साफल्यं स्पष्टतायामन्तर्निहितमस्ति तस्मात्तेन क्लिष्टशब्दप्रयोगो हातव्यो यतो हि क्लिष्टभाषानुवादेन वर्ण्यविषयो न सहजेन ग्राह्यः। आदर्शानुवादस्य लक्षणमिदमेव यन्न किमपि त्याज्यं न चान्यथा ग्राह्यम्। अनुवादो विभिन्नानां भाषाणां मध्ये सेतुवत्कार्यं करोति तस्य निर्वाहोऽनुवादकस्योत्तरदायित्वम्। अनुकर्त्रा ज्ञातव्यं यदनुवादम्प्रति प्रीतिश्रद्धे यावत्पर्यन्तं न, तावत्साफल्यं नैव। अनुवादस्य सारतत्त्वमास्था, सैवात्र निहिता स्यात्। भाषानुवादकस्य व्याकरणज्ञानं, शब्दानां चयनकौशलम्, छन्दःशैल्यादिप्रयोगो महत्त्वपूर्णमङ्गम्, अनेनैव सः स्वव्यक्तिरुच्यनुसारं भाषां प्रयुङ्क्ते तावत्पर्यन्तमेव सः सर्जकः। अयमेवानुवादकर्तुरादर्शगुणः। उपजीव्यग्रन्थेषु महाभारतमेकं राजनैतिकम् ऐतिहासिकम्,

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आर्थिकम् आध्यात्मिकञ्च महाकाव्यम्। इदमाश्रित्य रचितानि गद्यकाव्यानि सर्वासु सुविस्तृतानि। एष उत्कलप्रान्तस्य लब्धज्ञानपीठपुरस्काराया डॉ. प्रतिभाराय-महोदयया रचित उपन्यासोऽतिप्रसिद्धो याज्ञसेनीति। डॉ. प्रतिभारायमहोदययाऽति सूक्ष्मतया रुचिरसाहित्यिकशैल्या मनोवैज्ञानिकरूपेण च नारीजीवनसमस्या ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् उपन्यस्ता। काव्यमिदं द्रुपदनन्दिनीद्रौपद्यास्तदीय-दृष्ट्याऽऽत्मगाथा प्रस्तौति।

अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सामाजिकप्रसाराय, आध्यात्मिकचिन्तनाय, व्यक्तिविकासाय नारीसमाजस्य परिज्ञानाय च संस्कृतभाषायामनुवादः कृतः डॉ. भागीरथिनन्दमहाभागेन। एते साम्प्रतिकचिन्तकाः, साहित्यिकाः, कविकाव्यशास्त्रमर्मज्ञाः श्री लालबहादुरशास्त्रीराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे नवदेहल्यां साहित्यविभागे आचार्यपदमलङ्कुर्वन्ति। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं संस्कृतभाषायां राष्ट्रियसंस्कृत-संस्थानपक्षतः २००६ तमेऽभूत्।

महाभारतयुद्धस्य कारणभूताया द्रौपद्या मानसिकव्यथानां माध्यमेनात्रास्माकं परितो दृश्यमानो व्यथितनारीसमाजः साक्षादेवावलोक्यते। या यज्ञात्समुद्भवा पितुः प्रतिज्ञापूरणाय, धर्मसंस्थापनाय, अधर्मस्य विनाशाय, नारीसमाजस्योत्थानाय, दुःखसाहिष्णुतायाः प्रतिमानाय, विविधलोकापवा-ददमनाय, परोपकाराय च, सा पित्रा स्नेहेन पालिता, भगवता वासुदेवेनाभिरक्षिता, अनवरतं कृष्णानुचिन्तनशीला कृष्णाऽपरनामधेया याज्ञसेनीति। सैवात्र जायाजननीभगिनीपुत्रीरूपेण चित्रिता जीवनस्य नानाभिनयेषु। जन्मकालाद् यया स्वेच्छया नैव काऽपि कल्पंना कृता, स्वदेहसुखस्य नैव कोऽप्यनुभवोऽनुभूतः अपितु स्वपितुः सख्युः, पञ्चपतीनाञ्च देशपरिपालनायैव स्वजीवनस्य परममुद्देश्यमङ्गीचकार, सा साम्प्रतिककालेऽपि प्रातः स्मरणीया जनैः। यज्ञादुत्पन्नकाले द्रौपद्याः पिता प्रसन्नो यतोहि तेन स्वापमानस्य प्रतिकाराय द्रोणाचार्यस्य हननाय च स्वप्रतिज्ञा प्रत्यक्षीकृता। परं च किमु तस्याः स्वजीवने नैव कोऽप्यधिकारो या अर्जुनवरणाय प्रतिबद्धा जाता। नैव कदापि वर्तमानसामाजिकपरिदृश्ये एवं सम्भवति। एकस्याः राजकन्यायाः स्वसुखसौभाग्यं परित्यज्य वनगमनस्य दृष्टान्तस्तु रामायणेऽपि प्रसिद्धः, एकस्य पुरुषस्य राज्ञो वा एकाधिक-भार्यापरिणयवृत्तान्तोऽपि श्रूयते, परं चैकस्या नायिकायाः पञ्चपतिभिः सह विवाहो दाम्पत्यजीवनं वा नैवास्मात्परं दृश्यते। किं तस्या जीवनं या नानाविचारयुक्तैः पञ्चपाण्डवैः सह एकस्मिन्नेव काले एकस्मिन्नेव कुटीरे स्वश्वश्रवा सह च निवसेत्। काऽपि स्त्री कस्यामपि दशायामेवं केवलमेकेन पुरुषेण स्वपराक्रमबलेन जिता तथापि अन्यैः सह सा स्वजीवनं यापयेत्। यस्याः पतिः अर्जुनः नियमभङ्गकारणाद् द्वादशवर्षाणि यावद्वनं जगाम सा द्रौपदी स्वप्रतिज्ञामेव पालयितुं राजभवने उषित्वापि अर्जुननिर्दिष्टावधिपर्यन्तं तत्रैव कुटीरे तापसीवेषेण स्वकालमतिवाहितवती। वस्तुतस्तु समाजे नैव एवम्भूताः प्रसङ्गाः श्रूयन्ते न चावलोक्यन्ते। यया परसुखकामनया लज्जायुक्तानि वचनानि एव श्रुतानि केनापि न च कथमपि आश्वसिता, तयैव प्रतिपदमङ्गीकृतनानाकारणया कृष्णया स्वमनोबलं नैव हारितम्। स्त्री यदि मानवस्योत्पादयित्री जननी तदा सैव संहारिणी दुर्गारूपेण

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दुष्टानाम्। सा न केवलं कामोपभोगशान्त्यै मानवस्य, अपि तूपदेशदात्री। विपत्तौ सन्मित्रम्, सुखे सहवासिनी, कर्मसु सहयोगिनी, विचारेष्वनुगामिनी चैका आदर्शनारी सुव्यवस्थितसमाजस्य कृते आवश्यकी, यस्या उदाहरणमात्रं केवलं पाञ्चाली। यद्यपि द्रौपदी विद्यावती, भक्तिमती, शक्तिमती, गृहकर्मकुशला, व्यवहारसंयोजने निपुणा तथापि कथं दुःखाग्निः स्वान्तःकरणे वाडवाग्निरिव तयाऽऽत्मसात्कृत इति अद्यतनीयनारी। समाजस्य न केवलं सहिष्णुताया अपितु स्वात्मसम्मानस्य विषयेऽपि प्रेरणादायकः प्रसङ्गः। परञ्च युधिष्ठिरेण द्यूतक्रीडायां स्वपराभवभयाद् अखिलसभ्यसभायां तस्याः अपमानः कृतः, किमूचितमेतदादर्शसमाजस्य परिकल्पनायै? अनन्तरं तस्यापमानस्य प्रतिकाराय स्यात् महाभारतस्य युद्धमिति साऽन्या कथा, तथापि स्वसमाजे स्वकीयजनैः कृतमेतत् स्वपञ्चपतीनामुपस्थितौ किमूचितम्? एकाऽसहाया नारी एवम्भूते समाजे अरक्षिता एव। अधुनापि सैव दशास्य समाजस्य यत्र रक्षकाः भक्षकाः सन्ति। तस्मिन् समये वासुदेवेन प्रतिकृत्य द्रौपदी रक्षिता। परञ्चाद्यत्वे नैव तादृशो वासुदेवोऽवलोक्यते यो रक्षितुं क्षमः असहायाया अबलायाः सम्मानम्। सर्वत्र सा कस्यापि दुर्योधनस्य कुदृष्ट्या लक्ष्यं भवति विडम्बनेयं यच्छिक्षितसमाजेऽपि अशिक्षितवदाचरति पुरुषो महिलाभिः सह। महाभारते केवलमासीत् कौरवाणां तत्सम्बद्धजनानां वा कुदृष्टिः परञ्चाद्य यो नरः श्रेष्ठः कथ्यते स एव नराधमः। धर्मस्य रक्षका एव नारीरक्षणस्य स्थाने तां भ्रूणहत्यामाध्यमेन, बालविवाहकारणेन, यौतृकप्रथया च पीडयन्ति। या महाभारते विदुषी, वीराङ्गना, ममतामयी जननी, जाया, भगिनी, कन्या च आसीत्साद्यापि तथैवासहायावलोक्यते। यया सम्पूर्णं जीवनं पाण्डवानां सेवायामेव यापितं स्वसुखस्य कृते नैव कदापि चिन्तितम्, सैवान्त्ये मेरुगिरेः हिमालयस्य स्वर्णरेणुषु आदौ स्खलितपदा स्वर्गलाभाद्वञ्चितात्यन्त-निस्सहायतया स्वदेहं तत्याज। तथैव स्थितिरद्यापि या सम्पूर्णजीवने मानवस्य सुखदुःखयोः सहभागिनी स्वपुत्रान् पालयति, पितरौ सेवते, पतिं स्वसर्वस्वमङ्गीकरोति सैवान्तकालेऽसहायावलोक्यते। वस्तुतस्तु द्रौपदी न केवलं नारी अपि तु भ्रष्टसमाजस्य कण्टकसुशोभितः सत्यस्य मार्गः।

समर्पणस्य भावः यथा याज्ञसेन्या दर्शितः तेन न केवलमाध्यात्मिकस्य अपितु सामाजिकस्य जीवनस्यापि सार्थकता लक्ष्यते तस्याः। मानवस्य जीवनं किमिति देहनाशात्परम्, स्वकार्यैः स सर्वैः जीवनस्य सर्वेषु पक्षेषु स्मर्यते। स्वकर्मणा यथा यथा मानव आचरति तथैव तदनुजाः। परञ्च भगवति मनो निधाय सत्कार्याय, धर्मस्य रक्षार्थं च योऽपि प्रयतते, लोकस्तमभिनन्दति प्रशंसति च। स्वदुष्कर्मभिः कौरवा निन्दाया मत्योश्च पात्राण्यभूवन् तत्रैव च पाण्डवा न केवलं विजयस्याधिकारिणः सञ्जाताः, यशसोऽपि। धर्मे यः स्वसर्वस्वं त्यजति स एव प्रातःस्मरणीयः, तथाभूता चासीद् याज्ञसेनी। यथोल्लिखति ग्रन्थकारो द्रौपद्याश्चीरहरणप्रसङ्गे आत्मनिवेदितवर्ती पाञ्चालीम् - 'प्रभो! अहं न स्वकीया, शरीरं च मे न स्वीयम्। अतः मां शरीरं च मे यथेच्छं व्यवहर। लज्जाऽपमानादिभ्यो न किमपि मदीयम्। सर्वं तवैव, त्वं च सर्वस्य कारणम्। मम पुनश्चिन्ता किमर्थम्? अतः सा भगवता वासुदेवेन रक्षिता। भगवान् स्वभक्तान् तान् भजत्येव ये तं स्मरन्ति।

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मानवस्य क्षमा तदैव शोभते यदा प्रतिकाराग्निरपि तत्सममेव स्यात्। विराटस्यावासे विराट श्यालेनापमानिता द्रौपदी विराटं धिक्करोति यद् राज्ञा प्रजा दुष्प्राणिभ्यः रक्षणीया परञ्च न तथा कृते सति तस्य दुष्टकीचकस्य दमनमुचितमिति धिया भीमेन तस्य वधः कृतः। यावत्पर्यन्तं दुष्टो जीवति तावद्धर्मः कथम्? अतस्तस्याधर्मस्य शमनमप्यावश्यकम्। करुणापरो गुणो मानवस्य सर्वदैव शोभते येन मानवस्य व्यक्तिविकासो नैवापि तु आध्यात्मिकोऽपि विकासः सम्भवति। कर्णस्य विषये दुःखितां कुन्तीम्प्रति स्वात्मानुभूतिं प्रकटयन्ती द्रौपदी चिन्तयति यदेका नारी एवापरस्या नार्या दुःखं सोढुमनुभवितुं च क्षमा; न तु पुरुषः कश्चित्। अतः स्वदुःखं मेऽपि प्रयच्छतु येनाहमपि किञ्चित्तस्य दुःखस्य सहभागिनी भवेयमिति कुन्तीमनुरुणद्धि सा। मानवस्य जीवनेऽश्रूणां महति आवश्यकता अतस्तेषां कदापि पातनं न कर्त्तव्यम्, यतोहि अश्रूपातनं मानवस्य दुर्बलतायाः परिचायकम्। तस्मात्तेषां रक्षा वीरपुरुषस्य प्रथमं लक्षणम्, यद्, द्रौपद्याऽत्र सर्वत्र दर्शितम्।

अस्य ग्रन्थस्य नायिका यथा स्वगुणैः परिपूरिता तथैव सौन्दर्येणापि। स्वयंवरसभायां सर्वे सभासदः तां दृष्ट्वात्मानं धिक्कुर्वन्ति। तस्याः श्मामलकोमलाङ्ग्या वर्णनं कविनात्र साक्षात्कृत्यैव प्रस्तुतमित्यनुमीयते तद्यथा - 'अहं कृष्णा। नीलकमलकुड्मलनिभा मे देहकान्तिः। सागरलहरिकेव घननीलोर्मिला कवरी। नीलोत्पलोपमं चञ्चलोज्ज्वलं बुद्धिदीप्तमायतं मनोहारि च मे नयनयुगलम्। विश्वस्य श्रेष्ठतमाकृतिकारनिर्मितनिर्दोषप्रतिमाया इव मेऽनिन्द्या मुखशोभा। चारुसङ्कट-नाऽङ्गलतिका। दीर्घो देहः, तुङ्गं सुवृत्तं वक्षोजयुगलम्, क्षामो मध्यभागः, रम्भास्तम्भनिभ ऊरुः, चम्पककलिकोपमाः कराङ्गुल्यः, रक्तकमलदलकोमलं करतलम्, पदयुगलञ्च। मुक्ता मालेव दन्तपङ्क्तिः। विद्युदुद्दीप्ता हास्यरेखा। चन्द्रलेखाशोभाः करचरणनखाः। शरीरस्य पद्मगन्धेन मधुकरा मतिहीनाः पुष्पोद्यानं विसृज्येव मे चतुर्दिशं भ्रमन्ति। मम कुञ्चितकवरीसौन्दर्येण बद्धः पवनः स्थिरीभवतीव। कवयो वदन्ति यतिमतिहारिणी मे शारीरशोभेति।' (या. पृ. ८) शरीरनिर्माणकाले एवम्प्रतिभाति यद् विधाता स्वसम्पूर्णकौशलविन्यासः तस्यामेव निक्षिप्तः। यज्ञादुद्भवकाले यस्या दर्शनमात्रेण मुनीनामपि जिह्वा स्तम्भिता तादृशी याज्ञसेनी यत्रापि स्वदृष्टिं पातयति तत्रैव रमणीयतामालोकयन्तो नृपा अधोमुखीभवन्ति स्म लज्जया। द्रुपदस्य सभाकवयः तस्याः विषये गदन्ति स्म? अस्या वरनार्या रूपं यावद् वर्ण्यतां नाम, तावत् किमप्यवशिष्यते। यावज्जीवं काव्यरचनायामप्यलब्धोपमस्य सौन्दर्यस्योपमा केवलं कृष्णैवेयम्। (या. पृ. ९)। अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गेऽनुवादकारस्य रचना मूलादधिकरमणीयं स्पष्टं विभाति। अयमेव संस्कृतमहिमा। अनुवादोऽय-मपूर्वोऽनितरसाधारणश्च प्रतिभाति।

ग्रन्थस्यास्य भाषाप्रवाह ईदृग्वर्तते यदारभ्यते चेद् विना पूर्णतां नैव कोऽप्यध्येता ग्रन्थमेनं विहातुं समर्थः। अर्थात् प्रसङ्गानुसारिणी भाषा अनुवादकेन काव्येऽस्मिन् ग्रथिता। क्वापि माधुर्यगुणेन गुम्फिता सहजा, क्वापि गाढबन्धेन ओजसा समासबाहुल्यम्, कदाचिच्च प्रसादगुणोपेता रचनाप्यकारि अनुवादकेन। माधुर्यगुणस्य दिग्दर्शनं यथा - स च दूरदर्शी, कूटनीतिज्ञः, भक्तिमान्,

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कर्मवीरश्च।......स आर्ताभीष्टं पूरयति, स्नेहं च प्रति यच्छति। स एकस्माद्धस्ताद् गृह्णाति, प्रयच्छति तु सहस्रबाहुभिः। तस्य हृदयं सुमहत्। सोऽद्वितीयवीरः परमपुरुषश्च (या. पृ. १२) एवमपि नितम्बन्या मुखेन द्रौपदीम्प्रति कविः - तवाह्लादप्लुतेन नीलमणीत्यावाहनेन सह नीलमणेर्मधुरं कृष्णनामभजनमतिथिभवने एतावद् गुञ्जितं यद् दीनो वास्तनिको नीलमणिः पुष्पसौरभेण पथभ्रष्टो मधुप इवास्थिरो भवति। स इदं नावगन्तुं शक्नोति यत् का हृदयस्थसमस्तममतारससिक्तकण्ठेन तं सादरमाकारयतीति। (या. पृ. २३) प्रसादगुणं प्रसारयन्ति विवाहोत्सवस्य प्रथमनिशायां युधिष्ठिरं प्रति जगाद पाञ्चाली - भवान् धर्मराजः। भवान् यत्किमपि कुरुते, तत्पृष्ठभूमौ कोऽपि धार्मिको विचारो निधीयते। तेन यः क्षुण्णो भवति, स धर्मं न श्रद्दधाति। अहं तु धर्मयज्ञकुण्डात् सम्भूता। अतः धर्मं प्रति मे प्रगाढाऽनुरक्तिः। (या. पृ. ८५)

यद्यपि महाभारतमाश्रितोऽयमुपन्यासो रचितस्तस्मादत्र भगवान्वासुदेवश्च कीर्त्यतेऽत्र सनातनः शान्तो रसो मे प्रतिभाति। कविना सर्वेषां रसानामङ्गरूपेण समावेशः कृतः। यथा स्वयंवरसभायां विवाहोत्सवे पञ्चनिशायापने च शृङ्गारः, स्वसखीभिः सह संवादो हास्यः, करुणस्तु विभिन्नेषु स्थलेषु तत्रापि प्रमुखत्वेन कुन्त्याः कर्णम्प्रति, द्रौपद्याश्च कौरवसभायाम्, दुःशासनस्य रुधिरपाने, कीचकवधे, महाभारतसङ्ग्रामे च रौद्रवीरा, भयानको महाभारतस्य सङ्ग्रामे एव बीभत्सोऽपि तत्रैव च प्रमुखत्वेन। शान्तस्तु भगवत्कीर्तनेन सह प्रसङ्गानुसारी। एवमत्र सर्वेषां रसानामङ्गत्वेन समाहारः। न केवलमत्र द्रौपद्याश्चरित्रमपितु अर्जुनस्य वीरता, युधिष्ठिरस्य सत्यनिष्ठता, नकुलसहदेवयोः सौम्यव्यवहारः, भीमस्य वचनबद्धता, वासुदेवस्य सर्वज्ञता, कुन्त्याः करुणापि श्लाघनीया दृश्यन्ते। ग्रन्थस्यामुष्य आध्यात्मिकचिन्तनं यथा मानवम् ईश्वरम्प्रति प्रेरयति, विरागश्च तं सांसारिकबन्धनाद्विमोचयति, विपत्तामपि धैर्यं बध्नाति तथैव राज्यसुखशय्यायामपि आर्तस्यान्तर्नादं श्रोतुम्, असहायस्य सहाय्यं कर्तुम्, अनवरतप्रजानुरञ्जनायोद्यतं कर्तुं, रामादिवदाचरितव्यं न तु रावणादिवदुपदेष्टुं चोद्बोधयति। एवमनुमीयते यद् ग्रन्थकारेणात्र न केवलं द्रौपद्या जीवनवृत्तान्तो निरूपितोऽपितु स्वजीवनमेव साक्षात्कृत्योपस्थापितम्। मन्ये स्त्रीसमाजे नातिसुखं वर्तमानकालेऽपि एवं विचिन्त्य सर्वेषां सम्मुखं तासां वास्तविकदशासमुपस्थापनाय ग्रन्थकारायाः, अनुवादकस्य च प्रयासः। अनेन वस्तुस्थितिपरिज्ञानमस्माकं भवेद् वर्तमानसमाजस्य, तत्रागतानां विपत्तीनां च निवारणं स्यादिति लक्ष्यीकृत्य रचितेयं याज्ञसेनीति।

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4

Ākhyātacandrikā with the commentary Pūrṇimā

Language is the greatest gift humanity ever had. Daṇḍin rightly pointed out that the world would have sunk into darkness had language, that jyotis, not dispelled it. The science of grammar well protects the structural form of language. Lexicons preserve the world of meaning inherent in it. Luckily for us, our tradition in both is rich. Pāṇini, even in this computer age, is a wonder to human intelligence. Lexicographers from Yāska to Amarasiṁha have strengthened our knowledge base. They were primarily concerned about words coming under satvapradhāna category. Words, according to our concept, are derived from the roots. Verbal forms, bhāvapradhāna in themselves and their formulations, are complicated. Some of our renowned preceptors Vopadeva, Ghanaśyāma and Lāvaṇyavijayasūri have contributed excellent lexicons of verbal forms.

Bhaṭṭamalla's *Ākhyātacandrikā*, attributed approximately to 11 – 12 centuries of CE, belongs to that rare genre of lexicons of synonymous Sanskrit verbs, structured like *Amarakośa* or *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam* of Amarasiṁha which is a lexicon of synonymous nouns. The text of *Ākhyātacandrikā* has 1114 verses in fourteen chapters covered in three Kāṇḍas. This division is based on the subject matter. They pertain to states of existence, intellect, soul, mind, word, sound, activities of human beings in general and priests, warriors, businessmen and workers in particular, miscellaneous, verbs derived of an exclusive group of 12 suffixes called sanādi, nānārtha, a chapter consisting of synonymous verbs from each of the ten groups of verbs in *Pāṇinīyadhātupāṭha* including synonymous transitive and intransitive verbs.

Birth, existence, change, both in the forms of growth and decay and destruction are the states of existence that from the tiny atom to the giant in this sentient world undergo. Synonymous verbs related to these activities are enunciated following the method of general and exception.

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Although intelligence, ego and mind are said to be antaḥkaraṇa, intelligence and antaḥkaraṇa are assigned separate chapters because activities akin only to the intelligence such as experience are vast and varied.

The chapter for antaḥkaraṇa elaborates its activities related to desire, anger, pleasantness, unpleasantness, happiness, sorrow etc. through synonymous verbs. The answer to a presumable question about the exclusion of bāhyakaraṇa here is that of the ten types of jñānendriyas and karmendriyas called as bāhyakaraṇa are found described either in separate chapters or mentioned in different places in the text. For example, the synonymous verbs meaning sight, touch etc., are mentioned in the chapter entitled buddhivarga. Similarly, speech, taking, walking, excreting and finding pleasure etc. are in the chapter called manuṣyavarga. In contrary to these, the activities related to antaḥkaraṇa are subjects of all the three states of consciousness and time. Hence they are in a separate chapter.

Then the chapter entitled vāk-kriyā that has short, long and prolongated forms are in a different chapter which is followed by a chapter for sounds in general.

Based on the quality, inherent nature and profession, humans are divided in four classes such as the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra. Synonymous verbs denoting their actions are presented in these four chapters.

There is a chapter for prakīrṇakas or miscellaneous verbs that could not be put in the ambit of general classification followed by verbs derived of an exclusive group of 12 suffixes called sanādi.

A chapter by the name nānārtha, consisting of synonymous roots from each of the ten groups of verbs in *Pāṇinīyadhātupāṭha* is followed by the last chapter for synonymous transitive and intransitive verbs.

Thus, as the name *Ākhyātacandrikā* suggests, the book is a moon in full bloom obtained after churning the milky ocean of sounds which is embellished with the mesmerising charm of the commentary entitled Pūrṇimā of V. R. Manoj. This completes and complements the *Ākhyātacandrikā*.

Pūrṇimā, takes every word of the *Ākhyātacandrikā* and comments on it. Nevertheless words which have no other apparent use than completing

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the metric style are left unattended to. For example, the च and अपि in उत्पद्यते जायते च प्ररोहत्युद्भवत्यपि (पङ्क्ति.६). The purpose of a conjunction is obtained by either of these two. Therefore, one of these two is used just for the completion of the metre. But whereever there is a visible difference in the meaning that has been discussed in detail. The following passage justifying the use of च and अपि is an example, यङोऽचि च (पा.सू.२.४.७४) इति सूत्रार्थानुवादरूपाया: बहुलं लुकि तत्रापि बोभोत्यादिकमूह्यतामिति (पङ्क्ति: ८१५) इत्यस्या: कारिकाया अर्थकथने 'सूत्रे चशब्द: क्वचिदजादिप्रत्ययपरकत्वाभावेऽपि यङ् प्रत्ययस्य लोपं बोधयति। तत्सङ्ग्रहार्थोऽत्र ग्रन्थे अपिशब्द:। गर्हासमुच्चयप्रश्नशङ्कासम्भावनास्वपीत्यमर: इति is another example justifying the use of a च.

Every chapter has an introduction wherein different views regarding the subject matter are given followed by detailed exposition of the verbs. The uses of synonymous verbs have been exemplified from other lexicons and quoting from literary works. Derivative history of verbs is provided where-ever there is complexity. References are provided in the text itself for ease of access and understanding. A well researched list of roots pertaining to every entry and meaning which were not included by Bhaṭṭamalla is provided at the end of every chapter. Verses are continuously numbered for ease of access and indexing.

The author has presented the meaning in the locative case and synonymous verbs have then been compiled in the subjective case. For example, जीवे बलत्यूर्जयति श्वसित्यनिति जीवति and परैति प्रैति मरणे म्रियते च प्रमीयते। This method is followed also in the Pūrṇimā.

Yet, there remain some places where the commentator has resorted to the munificence of learned scholars to arrive at a conclusion. Following are a few to quote from the Pūrṇimā - वास्या: परेश्छेदन इष्यते (पङ्क्ति. ८३८) इत्यत्र असिना छिनत्ति असयति। असिसाहचर्यात् परेरिति परशुशब्दस्योपलक्षणम्। परशुना छिनत्ति परशयति। अथवात्र सतां समय: शरणम् इत्यवोचाम and पयते वयते विच्छायति पन्थयतीजते' (पङ्क्ति ४९३), वञ्चति म्रोचति म्लोचत्यजति त्वञ्चतीजते (पङ्क्ति ४९७) फणति द्रवते गाते पद्यते विच्छति क्वचित् (पङ्क्ति ४९८) इत्यादौ ईज गतिकुत्सनयो: (भ्वा. १८२) इत्ययमावृत्तो दृश्यते। तत्र च समानधात्वन्तरस्यानुपलब्धेरत्र समाधौ सन्त: शरणमित्यवादिष्म and प्रतिष्किरत्यालभते तृणात्युन्मथतीति च (पङ्क्ति ५९५) इत्यत्र प्रतिपूर्व: कॄ विक्षेपे (तुदा. १४१०) हिंसापरो ह्यत्र विक्षेप:। 'हिसायां प्रतेश्च' (पा. सू. ६. १.१४१) इति सुट्। 'ऋहत तथा विक्षिपति यथा हिंसामनुबध्नाति।

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इद्धातोः' (पा.सू. ७.१.१००) इतीत्वम्। 'परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिवुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जाम्' (पा. सू.८.३.७०) इति षत्वं पिरनिविभ्यः परस्यैव सुटो विहितम्। न तु प्रतेः। तेन प्रतिस्किरतीत्येव भाव्यम्। अतः प्रतिष्किरतीति ग्रन्थकृत्प्रयुक्तं सन्तः साधयन्तु इत्यवदाम।

Yet in other places, the commentator has taken freedom in refuting some entries considering their invalidity/inappropriateness, as in - ईरयत्येलयति च प्रेरणेऽस्यति विस्यति (पङ्क्तिः ४५३) इत्यत्र प्रेरयत्येलयति च प्रेरणेऽस्यति विर्‌यति इति ख पुस्तके प्रामादिकः पाठः। प्रेरयतीत्यस्योपरिष्टादुक्तत्वाद् ईर इति तत्स्थाने पुस्तकान्तरेषु प्रयुक्तस्य गतार्थत्वाच्च। विर्‌यतीत्ययं मुद्राराक्षसो यो विस्यतिं विषष्वाण इत्युक्त्वा निराकरवाम and यत्नोपसान्त्वनज्ञानभासनेषूपनिमन्त्रणे (पङ्क्तिः १०८३) इत्यत्र यत्नोपसान्त्वनज्ञानासनेषूपनिमन्त्रणे इति सर्वत्र पुस्तकेषु पाठो दृश्यते। किन्तु 'भासनोपसम्भाषाज्ञानायत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः' (पा.सू. १.३.४७) इति सूत्रे आसनशब्दो न विद्यते प्रत्युत भासन इति हि दृश्यते । सर्वेष्वप्येतत्सुत्रव्याख्यानेषु भासन इत्येव दृश्यते। अतोऽयं प्रामादिक इति मत्वास्माभिर्भासन इति ग्रन्थः परिष्कृतः इति निरातङ्कमुक्तम्।

At the end are given indices of both synonymous meaning and synonymous verbs with the help of which it is easier to browse through the text and commentary. Added to these is the index of Paṇinīya-dhātupāṭha with elaborate descriptions on their peculiar characteristics such as seṭ or aniṭ and svara which helps determine the root in its comprehensive form at a glance. This is followed by root index. Also, to facilitate the time honoured method of pārāyaṇam is given the mūla of *Ākhyātacandrikā* followed by its index. This index is good for the reader to reach out to the text and commentary, for they are also serially numbered. The book concludes with a list of examples taken from poetry followed by bibliography.

Lexicons are not intended for easy reading. Yet, the commentator makes it interesting through beautiful illustrations drawn from literary works. All the great poets are at the tip of his finger to explain the not so simple riddles of the text.

Ākhyātacandrikā of Bhaṭṭamalla with Pūrṇimā commentary by Dr. V. R. Manoj. Published in the Reaearch Series of Chinmaya Internation Foundation shodha Sansthan, Veliyanad, 2011. Pages XII+520 Price ₹ 800/-

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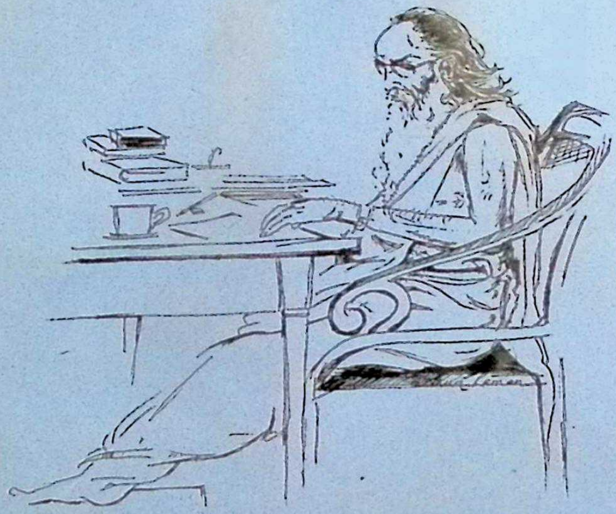

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